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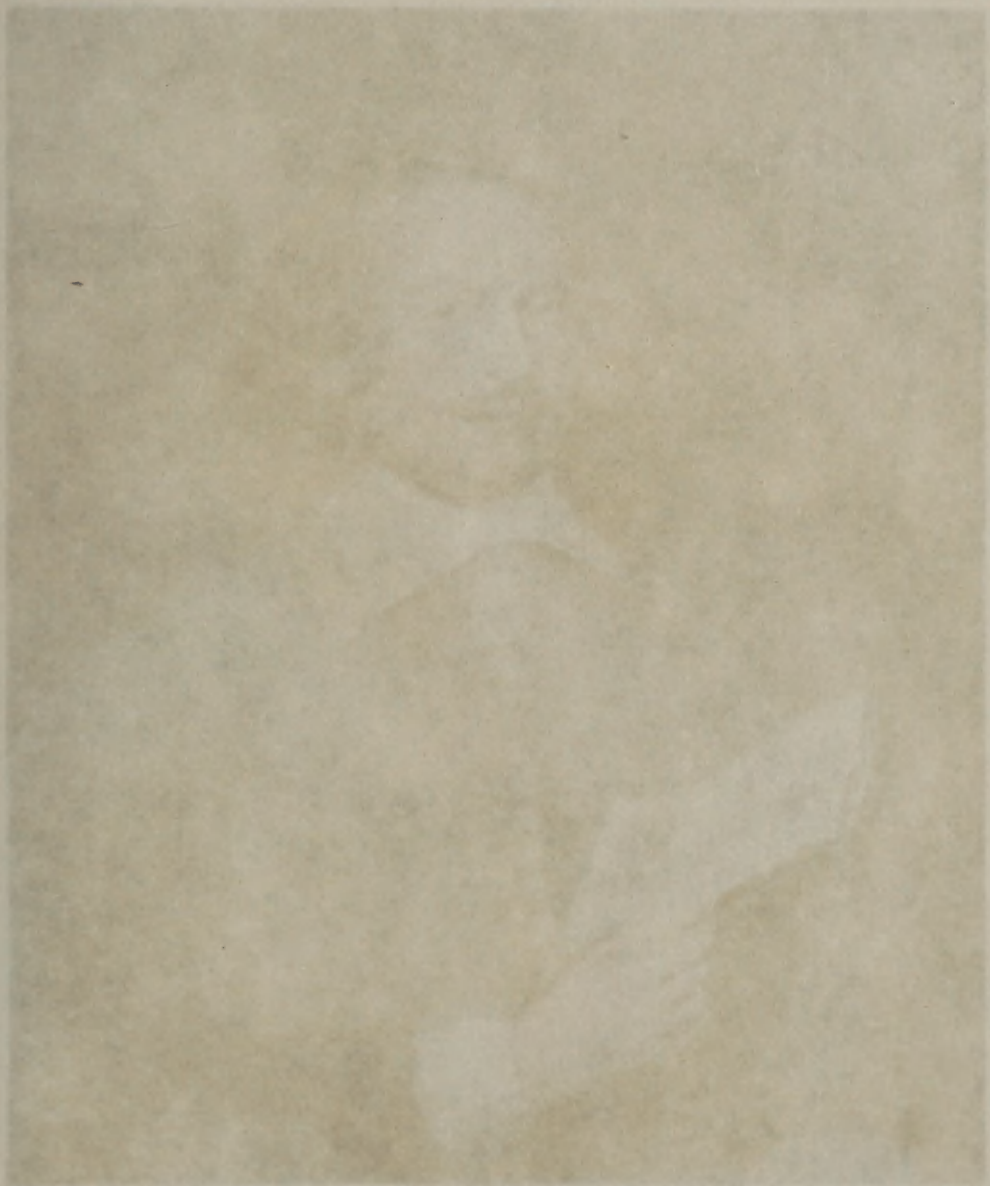
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CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS
ARTHUR LORD MORTON DEXTER[1]
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WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD

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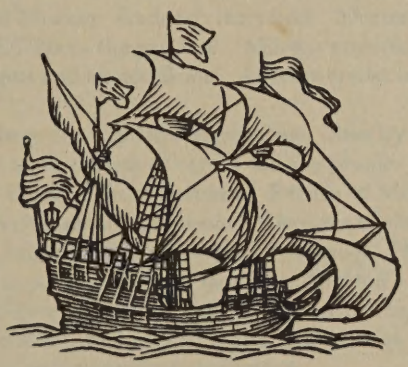


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HISTORY OF
Plymouth Plantation
1620-1647

By WILLIAM BRADFORD

In Two Volumes : VOLUME II

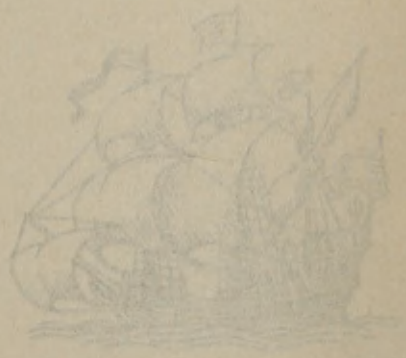


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Errata

Page x, line 8 from bottom, *for* LETTER *read* DEED.

Page 404, *transpose lines* 4 *and* 5.

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Of Plimmoth Plantation

Anno Dom: ·1627·

AT the usuall season of the coming of ships Mr. Allerton returned, and brought some usfull goods with him, according to the order given him. For upon his commission he tooke up 200*li.* which he now gott at ·30· per cent.[1] The which goods they gott safly home, and well conditioned, which was much to the comfort and contente of the plantation. He declared unto them, allso, how, with much adoe and no small trouble, he had made a composition with the adventurers, by the help of sundrie of their faithfull freinds ther, who had allso taken much pains their about.[2] The

[1] The uncertain political conditions in England accounted in a measure for the difficulties experienced by Allerton in obtaining what he desired. The Parliament dissolved June 15, 1626, after a session largely devoted to charges against the Duke of Buckingham and the defence of the privileges of members. The succeeding months saw the efforts of the King to obtain money with which to maintain a fleet of ships for the defence of the kingdom and to send another against Spanish treasure ships and transports. Charles was obliged to pay usurious rates for ready money, and to sell large quantities of the royal plate, for the grants by Parliament had been meagre, and the measures resorted to by the king did not produce sufficient to meet the demands of the long unpaid and now clamorous soldiers and sailors. Relations with France continued to be strained, as the English seized French vessels on suspicion of having Spanish cargoes, and the French sequestered English goods in France by way of reprisal. On November 24, nine days after Allerton had completed his agreement with the London Adventurers, it was known by some in England that the English and Scottish fleet of wine ships, some two hundred in number, had been seized by the Governor of Guienne, the Duke of Epernon. Reprisals and other causes of difference followed, and war between the two countries appeared inevitable.

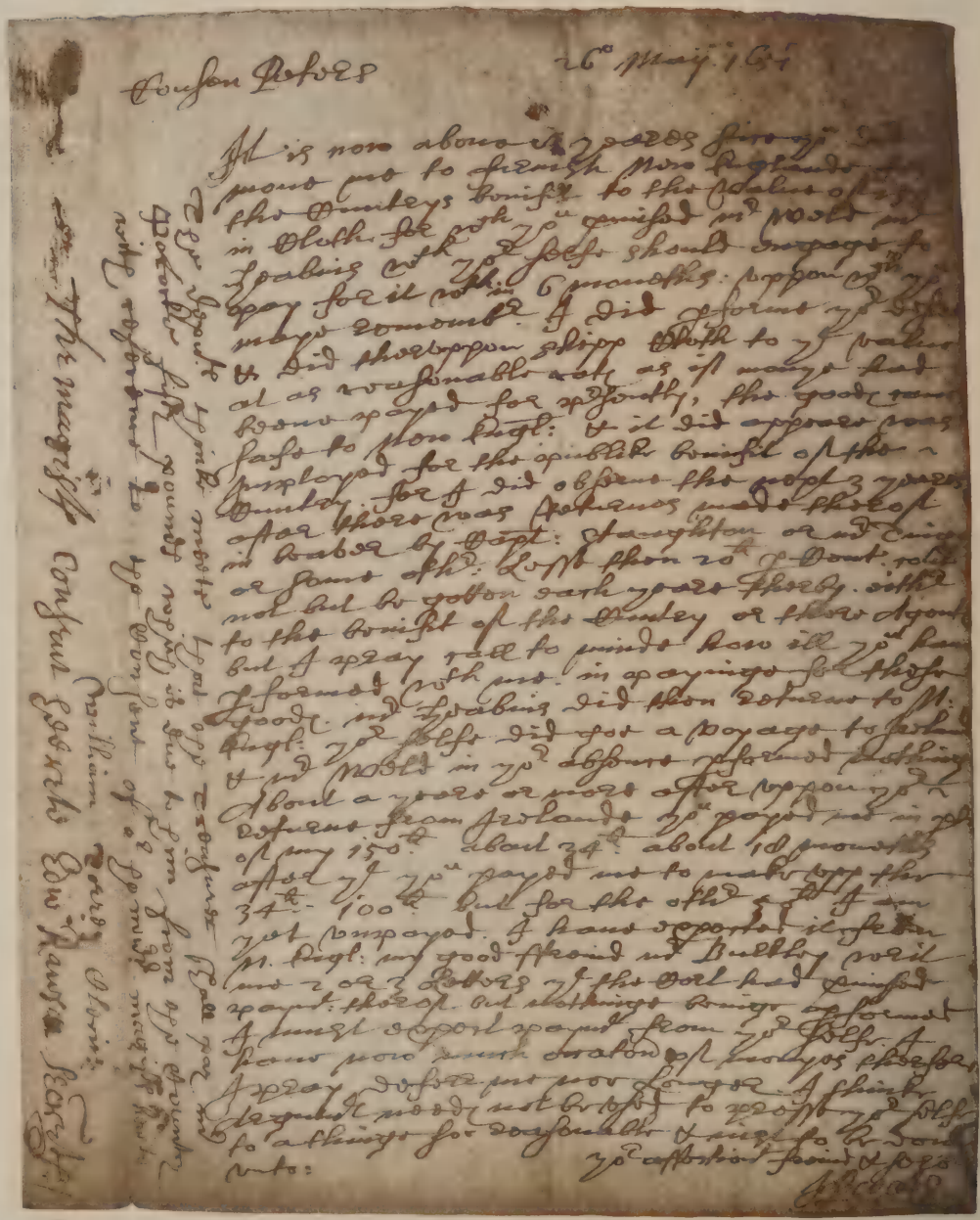
[2] Allerton probably left New England early in July and returned "at the usual season of the coming of ships." The task of making an arrangement with the Adventurers could not have been easy, in spite of the preparations made for it by Standish; or Allerton's increasing influence with the English creditors and his desire to increase his own gains, may have accounted for a good part of the difficulties alleged to have arisen. This mission of Allerton proved in the event exceptionally costly.

"Besides the obtaining of this money, he with much ado made a composition

agreement or bargen he had brought a draught of, with a list of ther names ther too annexed, drawne by the best counsell of law they could get, to make it firme. The heads wherof I shall here inserte.

To all Christian people, greeting, etc. Wheras at a meeting the ·26· of October last past, diverse and sundrie persons, whose names to the one part of these presents are subscribed in a schedule hereunto annexed, Adventurers to New-Plimoth in New-England in America, were contented and agreed, in consideration of the sume of one thousand and eight hundred pounds sterling to be paid, (in maner and forme foll[ow]ing,) to sell, and make sale of all and every the stocks, shares, lands, marchandise, and chatles, what soever, to the said adventurers, and other ther fellow adventurers to New Plimoth aforesaid, any way accruing, or belonging to the generalitie of the said adventurers aforesaid; as well by reason of any sume or sumes of money, or marchandise, at any times heretofore adventured or disbursed by them, or other wise howsoever; for the better expression and setting forth of which said agreemente, the parties to these presents subscribing, doe for [144] them selves severally, and as much as in them is, grant, bargain, alien, sell, and transfere all and every the said shares, goods, lands, marchandice, and chatles to them belonging as afforesaid, unto Isaack Allerton, one of the planters resident at Plimoth afforesaid, assigned, and sent over as agente for the rest of the planters ther, and to shuch other planters at Plimoth afforesaid as the said Isack, his heirs, or assignes, at his or ther arrivall, shall by writing or otherwise thinke fitte to joyne or partake in the premisses, their heirs, and assignes, in as large, ample, and beneficiall maner and forme, to all intents and purposes, as the said subscribing adventurers here could or may doe, or performe. All which stocks, shares, lands, etc. to the said adven[turers] in severallitie alloted, apportioned, or any way belonging, the said adven[turers] doe warrant and defend unto the said Isaack Allerton, his heirs and assignes, against them, their heirs and assignes, by these presents. And therfore

and agreement with the body of the adventurers, Mr. Allden (something now softened by my letter before mentioned) who was one of our powerfulest opposers, did not only yield thereunto, but was a furtherer of the same." *Bradford Letter Book*, 46. Probably the Robert Allden mentioned on p. 6, *infra*.

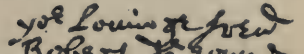


JOHN POCOCK, 1651.

the said Isaack Allerton doth, for him, his heirs and assigns, covenant, promise, and grant too and with the adven[turers] whose names are here unto subscribed, ther heirs, etc. well and truly to pay, or cause to be payed, unto the said adven[turers] or · 5 · of them which were, at that meeting afforsaid, nominated and deputed, viz. *John Pocock*,[1] *John Beauchamp*, *Robart Keane*,[2] *Edward Base*, and *James Sherley*, marchants, their heirs, etc. too and for the use of the generallitie of them, the sume of 1800*li.* of law full money of England, at the place appoynted for the receipts of money, on the west side of the Royall Exchaing[3] in

[1] This is the only mention of John Pocock to be found in Bradford, yet he had a long and close interest in New England affairs. He became a member of the Company of the Massachusetts Bay, and in 1629 received an election as assistant. Fifteen years after, at the suggestion of Thomas Weld, he received a commission from the Colony to act, with others, as its agents for conducting its business in England. Winthrop, *History* (Savage), II. 260. While acting on that commission he was directed to appear before the Commissioners for Plantations, on the question of jurisdiction over the lands adjoining Narragansett Bay. *Mass. Col. Rec.*, III. 48. He received the thanks of the Colony for his conduct of the controversy with Alderman Barkeley. Winthrop (Savage), II. 244; *Mass. Col. Rec.*, II. 138. With Weld his name appears as a promoter of the younger Winthrop's iron works at Braintree, 1645–1647. 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, VIII. 16. For his services or supplies sent to the colony a claim for £50 was made, and payment delayed for many years, the settlement probably being effected after 1652. The name of James Sherley appears in the same position as creditor of Massachusetts Bay, with that of Pocock. 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 111; *Mass. Col. Rec.*, II. 262; III. 247, 255, 291.

[2] Little is known of Robert Keayne's career before he came to Massachusetts in the *Defence*, in 1635. He belonged to the Merchant Tailors Company of London, and possessed means. His son, Benjamin, influenced by domestic troubles, returned to England and set up as a cloak seller in Birching Lane, where it is not unlikely the father had followed the same trade. 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 568. His name is so closely identified with Boston that further notice will be deferred for the Winthrop *History*.



[3] This was the usual place and time for payments. In the Gorges-Mason patent of 1631, payments were to be made "at the Assurance house on the west side of the Royall Exchange London (if it be demanded), the first payment to begin at the feast of St. Michael the Archangell." *Records of the Council for New England*, 98. The lane to the west of the Royal Exchange was named St. Christopher's Alley, and ran from Cornhill to Three Needle Street. On it was the Castle Tavern. The parish church of

London, by 200*li.*[1] yearly, and every year, on the feast of St. Migchell, the first paiment to be made Anno: 1628. etc. Allso the said Isaack is to indeavor to procure and obtaine from the planters of N[ew] P[limoth] aforesaid, securitie, by severall obligations, or writings obligatory, to make paiment of the said sume of 1800*li.* in forme afforsaid, according to the true meaning of these presents.[2] In testimonie wherof to this part of these presents remaining with the said Isaack Allerton, the said subscribing adven[turers]; have sett to their names, etc. And to the other part remaining with the said adven[turers]; the said Isaack Allerton hath subscribed his name, the ·15· *Nov[em]b[e]r Anno.* 1626. *in the* ·2· *year of his Majesties raigne.*[3]

St. Michael the Archangel stood on Cornhill, one block to the east of the Exchange and on the opposite side of the street. Michaelmas, the 29th of September, was one of the four quarter-days in England on which rents were paid. The selection showed consideration on the part of the Adventurers, for the returns of the summer's fishing and trading would then be available.

[1] "These disasters, losses and uncertainties, made such disagreement among the Adventurers in *England*, who beganne to repent, and rather lose all, than longer continue the charge, being out of purse six or seven thousand pounds, accounting my bookes and their relations as old Almanacks. But the Planters, rather than leave the Country, concluded absolutely to supply themselves, and to all their adventurers pay them for nine yeares two hundred pounds yearely without any other account." *Smith, Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, *19.

[2] Sherley claimed to be the "first propounder" of this plan at the meeting, and to have induced the other four associates to sign with him. For his own attitude, see p. 35, *infra.*

[3] From Bradford's *Letter Book* the names of the Adventurers subscribing this paper are learned:

John White,	Samuel Sharp,	Thomas Hudson,
John Pocock,	Robert Holland,	Thomas Andrews,
Robert Kean,	James Sherley,	Thomas Ward,
Edward Bass,	Thomas Mott,	Fria. Newbald,
William Hobson,	Thomas Fletcher,	Thomas Heath,
William Penington,	Timothy Hatherley,	Joseph Tilden,
William Quarles,	Thomas Brewer,	William Penrin,
Daniel Poynton,	John Thorned,	Eliza Knight,
Richard Andrews,	Myles Knowles,	Thomas Coventry,
Newman Rookes,	William Collier,	Robert Allden,
Henry Browning,	John Revell,	Lawrence Anthony,

This agreemente was very well liked of, and approved by all the plantation, and consented unto; though they knew not well how to raise the payment, and discharge their other ingagements, and supply the yearly wants of the plantation, seeing they were forced for their necessities to take up money or goods at so high intrests. Yet they undertooke it, and · 7 · or · 8 · of the cheefe of the place became joyntly bound for the paimente of this 1800*li.* (in the behalfe of the rest) at the severall days. In which they rane a great adventure, as their present state stood, having many other heavie burthens allready upon them, and all things in an uncertaine condition amongst them. So the next returne it was absolutly confirmed on both sides, and the bargen fairly ingrossed in partchmente and in many things put into better forme, by the advice of the learnedest counsell they could gett; and least any forfeiture should fall on the whole for none paimente at any of the days, it rane thus: to forfite 30*s.* a weeke if they missed the time; and was concluded under their hands and seals, as may be seen at large by the deed it selfe. [145].[1]

Now though they had some untowarde persons mixed amongst them from the first, which came out of England, and more afterwards by some of the adventure[r]s, as freindship or other affections led them, — though sundrie were gone, some for Virginia, and some to other places, — yet diverse were still mingled amongst

Richard Wright,	Peter Gudburn,	John Knight,
John Ling,	Emm. Alltham,	Matthew Thornhill,
Thomas Goffe,	John Beauchamp,	Thomas Millsop.

Of these names six were found among the members of the Massachusetts Company, viz. John White, John Pocock, Thomas Goffe, Samuel Sharpe, John Revell, and Thomas Andrews.

[1] This deed has not been preserved. "Thus all now is become our own, as we say in the proverb, when our debts are paid. And doubtless this was a great mercy of God unto us, and a great means of our peace and better subsistence, and wholly dashed all the plots and devises of our enemies, both there and here, who daily expected our ruin, dispersion and utter subversion by the same; but their hopes were thus far prevented, though with great care and labor, we were left to struggle with the payment of the money." *Bradford Letter Book*, 48.

them, about whom the Gove[rno]r and counsell with other of their cheefe freinds had serious consideration, how to setle things in regard of this new bargen or purchas made, in respecte of the distribution of things both for the presente and future. For the present, excepte peace and union were preserved, they should be able to doe nothing, but indanger to over throw all, now that other tyes and bonds were taken away. Therfore they resolved, for sundrie reasons, to take in all amongst them, that were either heads of families, or single yonge men, that were of ability, and free, (and able to governe them selves with meete descretion, and their affairs, so as to be helpfull in the comone-welth,) into this partnership or purchass. First, they considered that they had need of men and strength both for defence and carrying on of bussinesses. 2ly, most of them had borne ther parts in former miseries and wants with them, and therfore (in some sort) but equall to partake in a better condition, if the Lord be pleased to give it. But cheefly they saw not how peace would be preserved without so doing, but danger and great disturbance might grow to their great hurte and prejudice other wise. Yet they resolved to keep shuch a mean in distribution of lands, and other courses, as should not hinder their growth in others coming to them.

So they caled the company togeather, and conferred with them, and came to this conclusion, that the trade should be managed as before, to help to pay the debts; and all shuch persons as were above named should be reputed and inrouled for purchasers; single free men to have a single share, and every father of a familie to be alowed to purchass so many shares as he had persons in his family; that is to say, one for him selfe, and one for his wife, and for every child that he had living with him, one. As for servants, they had none, but what either their maisters should give them out of theirs, or their deservings should obtaine from the company afterwards. Thus all were to be cast into single shares according to the order abovesaid; and so every one was to pay his part according to his

proportion towards the purchass, and all other debts, what the profite of the trade would not reach too; viz. a single man for a single share, a maister of a famalie for so many as he had.[1] This gave all good contente. And first accordingly the few catle which they had were devided, which arose to this proportion; a cowe to · 6 · persons or shares, and · 2 · to goats the same, which were first equalised for age and goodnes, and then lotted for; single persons consorting with others, as they thought good, and smaler familys likwise; and swine though more [146] in number, yet by the same rule.[2] Then they agreed that every person or share should have · 20 · acres of land devided unto them, besides the single acres they had allready; and they appoynted were to begin first on the one side of the towne, and how farr to goe; and then on the other side in like maner; and so to devide it by lotte; and appointed sundrie by name to doe it, and tyed them to certaine rules to proceed by; as that they should only lay out settable or tillable land, at least shuch of it as should butt on the water side, (as the most they were to lay out did,) and pass by the rest as refuse and commone; and what they judged fitte should be so taken.[3] And they were first to agree of the good-

[1] This amounted in practice to a poll-tax, so much for every head of population, servants not included, except under the conditions given in the text. No records of these earlier tax lists survive, and the first in point of time was that for 1633. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 9. In that list the sum to be raised, £68. 7*s.*, may have included items other than what were necessary to make up the payment to the adventurers. At all events a strict *per capita* tax was abandoned, and a man's ability came into consideration. These rates were levied in corn. The value placed upon each share is not given by Bradford, nor is the actual rate levied upon each share. If this rate was paid in corn it would only be natural to find it expressed in the market or official price of that product, or some multiple of that price. In fact the rates levied in 1633–34 were multiples of nine shillings, except in some few instances, and all were multiples of three shillings, which would have represented half a bushel of corn. Compare the rate fixed for those on their particular in 1623, vol. I. p. 327, when corn must have been much higher in value.

[2] For the division of cattle made in 1627, see *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XII. 9.

[3] This division of land was, January 3, 1627–28, directed to be made under the following conditions:

"Imprimis. That the first division of the acres should stand and continue firme

nes and fitnes of it before the lott was drawne, and so it might as well prove some of ther owne, as an other mans; and this course they were to hould throwout. But yet seeking to keepe the peo-

according to the former division made unto the possessors thereof and to their heires for ever: Free Liberty being Reserved for all to gett fire wood [thereon] but the Timber trees were excepted for the owners of the ground.

"2ly. That the 2 division should consist of 20 acres to every person and to Contain five in breadth and four in length and so accordingly to be di[vided] by lott to every one which was to have share therein.

"3ly. The Ground to be judged sufficient before the Lots were drawne and the rest to be left to common use.

"4ly. This being done, that for our better subsistance and convenience those grounds which are nearest the Town, in whose lott soever they fall shall be used by the whole for the space of 4 years from the date hereof: vizt. first that the Right owner make choice of twice that quantity he shall or may [use] within the said terme and then to take to him such neighbours as shall have need and he think fitt; but if they cannot agree then the Governour and Councill may appoint as they think meet: provided that the woods [be] ordered for felling and lopping according as the owner shall appo[int:] for neither fire wood nor other timber either for building or fen[cing] or any other use is to be felled or caryed off of any of these without the owners leave and license, but he is to preserve [them] to his best advantage.

"5ly. That what soever the surveighers judge sufficient shall stand wi[thout] contradiction or opposition and every man shall Rest Contented [with] his lott.

"6ly. That after the purchasers are served as aforesaid; that then such p[lan]ters as are heirs to such as dyed before the Right of the land was [yield]ed to the Adventurers have also 20 acres a person proportionable to their Right Layed out in part of their Inheritance.

"7ly. That first they shall begin where the acres of the first division end and Lay out that to the Eele River so far as shall be thought fitt by the Surveighors, and Returne to the north side of the Tow[n] and so proceed accordingly, and that they leave all great Tim[ber] swamps for common use.

"8ly. That Fowling fishing and Hunting be free:

"9ly. That the old path ways be still allowed and that eve[ry] man be allowed a conveanient way to the water where [soever] the lott fall:

"Lastly that Every man of the Surveighers have a peck of Corne for Every share of land layed out by them to be paid by the owner thereof when the same is layd out.

"The names of the layers out were these

William Bradford	Francis Cooke
Edward Winslow	Joshua Pratt
John Howland	Edward Bangs"

Plymouth Colony Records, xi. 4.

ple togither, as much as might be, they allso agreed upon this order, by mutuall consente, before any lots were cast: that whose lotts soever should fall next the towne, or most conveninte for nearnes, they should take to them a neigboure or tow, whom they best liked; and should suffer them to plant corne with them for · 4 · years, and afterwards they might use as much of theirs for as long time, if they would. Allso every share or · 20 · acres was to be laid out · 5 · acres in breadth by the water side, and · 4 · acres in lenght, excepting nooks and corners, which were to be measured as they would bear to best advantage. But no meadows were to be laid out at all, nor were not of many years after, because they were but streight[1] of meadow grounds; and if they had bene now given out, it would have hindred all addition to them afterwards; but every season all were appoynted wher they should mowe, according to the proportion of catle they had.[2] This distribution gave generally

[1] Confined or restricted.

[2] The first recorded "orders about mowing of grasse" made in July, 1633, will be found in *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 14. If they were "streight of meadow grounds," the charge made in vol. I. p. 364, held some truth.

This distribution of cattle and of land among the "shareholders" gave an opportunity for sales in each and the economic life of the plantation was thereby advanced. The first recorded sale of land occurred in 1628, when Philip Delanoy sold to Stephen Deane one acre of land, that which he had received in the division of 1623. The price paid was "fower pounds sterling eyther to be made in currant monye of England or in such other commodity as will Readily procure or amount vnto the said som, in this plantation"; one half to be paid on October 1, 1628, and twenty shillings on the same day in 1629 and 1630. In 1630 Deane sold the two acres, his own and that purchased of Delanoy, for four pounds sterling. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XII. 7. The value of land can only remotely be determined from the records of sales, as commodities varied in value. In September, 1629, an acre was sold for thirty pounds of "good and marchantable Tobacco," and, on the next day the same lot, with another added, sold for five pounds sterling, or fifty shillings, part of which was to be liquidated by six pounds of beaver. *Ib.* 7, 8.

So of the cattle. Edward Winslow, in January, 1628, sold to Myles Standish for five pounds ten shillings his six shares in the red cow, to be paid "in Corne at the rate of six shillings per bushell freeing the said Edward from all manner of charg belonging to the said shares during the terme of the nine yeares they are let out to halues and

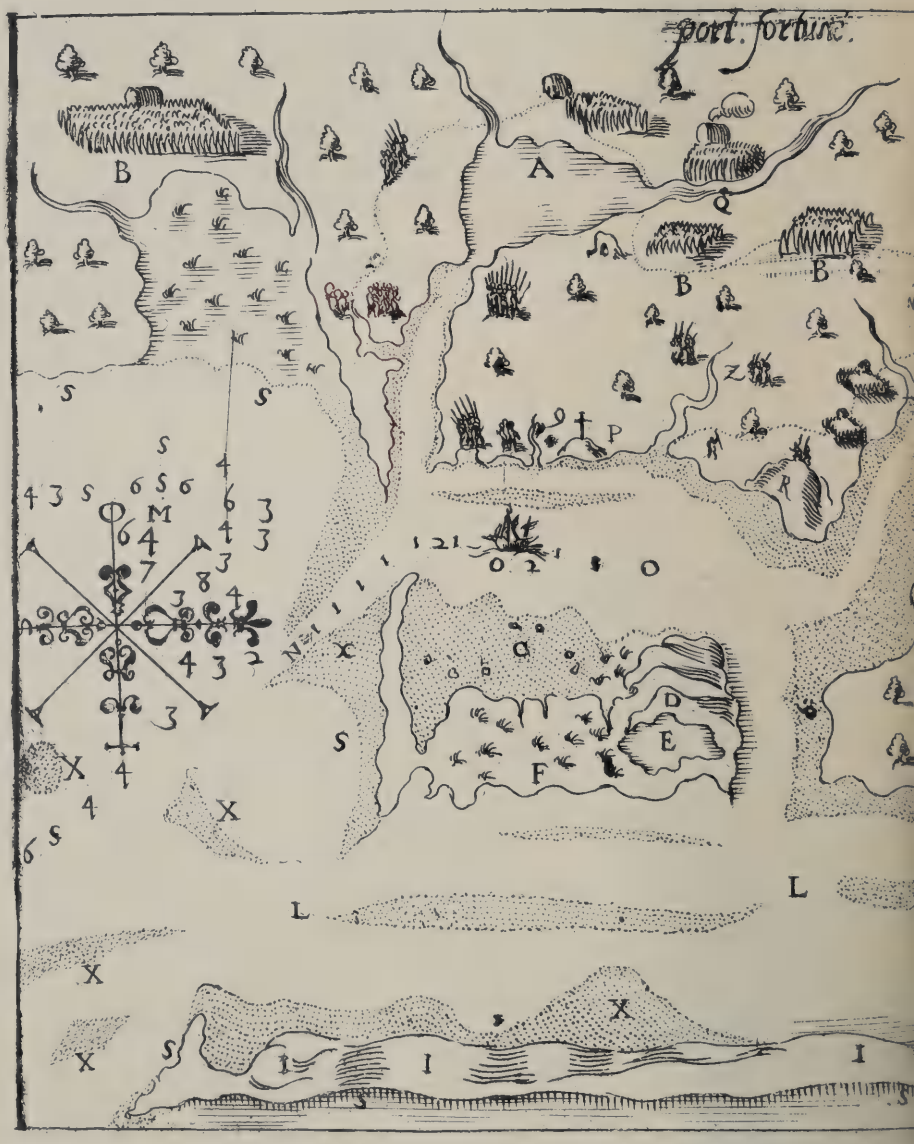
good contente, and setled mens minds. Also they gave the Gove-[rno]r and ·4· or ·5· of the spetiall men amongst them, the houses they lived in; the rest were valued and equalised at an indiferent rate, and so every man kept his owne, and he that had a better alowed some thing to him that had a worse, as the valuation wente.

Ther is one thing that fell out in the begining of the winter before, which I have resserved to this place, that I may handle the whole matter togeither. Ther was a ship,[1] with many passengers in her and sundrie goods, bound for Virginia. They had lost them selves at sea, either by the insufficiencie of the maister, or his ilnes; for he was

taking the benefit thereof." On the same day Peirce sold to Standish two shares in the same cow "for and in consideration of two Ewe lambs the one to be delivered at the time of weaning this present yeare and the other at the same time Anno 1628 freeing the said Abraham," etc. This cow belonged to the poor of the Company, p. 272, *infra*, and by these purchases Standish obtained full control of the thirteen shares she represented. As Winslow had married the widow of William White, he controlled the shares of the minor children, Resolved and Peregrine. At the rate named in the Winslow sale the cow would be worth £11. 18*s.* 4*d.*, a figure reached in 1638, when Bradford remarked upon the good prices obtained (p. 269, *infra*).

[1] Johnston, a Scotchman, was master of this ill-fated vessel. Morton, *New Englands Memoriall*, *67.

In 1863 the remains of an "old ship" were discovered on Nauset Beach, and in the autumn of 1865 they were brought to Boston and exhibited on Boston Common. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, VIII. 464. In the same year a pamphlet was published, *The Ancient Wreck; Loss of the Sparrow-Hawk in 1626.* Of this relic and description Mr. Deane wrote, in 1888: "This pamphlet gave a history of the discovery of the old ship, and a delineation of its restoration by experienced ship-builders, showing its dimensions, etc. . . . This pamphlet was issued in three editions, in the second of which the authority is given for calling the vessel the 'Sparrow-Hawk.' Reference is made to an able and interesting article by Mr. Amos Otis in the N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg. for January, 1864, giving an account of the changes which had taken place in the coast-lines and harbors of the eastern shores of Cape Cod since they were visited by the early navigators, and of the finding of the old wreck and its excavation in 1863, and of the tradition that a vessel had been cast away in that neighborhood, and also that she bore the name 'Sparrow-Hawk.' Mr. Otis speaks of this last as an 'uncertain tradition.' There is no other authority than this for the name." 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, IV. 217*n*. The remnants were worked into the frame of a vessel and are now in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, Mass.



CHAMPLAIN'S MAP OF PO



RT FORTUNÉ (CHATHAM)

sick and lame of the scurvie, so that he could but lye in the cabin dore, and give direction; and it should seeme was badly assisted either with mate or mariners; or else the fear and unrulines of the passengers were shuch, as they made them stear a course betwene the southwest and the norwest, that they might fall with some land, what soever it was they cared not. For they had been ·6· weeks at sea, and had no water, nor beere, nor any woode left, but had burnt up all their emptie caske; only one of the company had a hogshead of wine or ·2· which was allso allmost spente, so as they feared they should be starved at sea, or consumed with diseases, which made them rune this desperate course. But it plased God that though they came so neare the shoulds of Cap-Codd [147] or else ran stumbling over them in the night, they knew not how, they came right before a small blind harbore, that lyes about the midle of Manamoyake Bay, to the southward of Cap-Codd, with a small gale of wind; and about highwater toucht upon a barr of sand that lyes before it, but had no hurte, the sea being smoth; so they laid out an anchore. But towards the evening the wind sprunge up at sea, and was so rough, as broake their cable, and beat them over the barr into the harbor, wher they saved their lives and goods, though much were hurte with salt water; for with beating they had sprung the but end of a planke or too, and beat out ther occome;[1] but they were soone over, and ran on a drie flate within the harbor, close by a beach; so at low water they gatt out their goods on drie shore, and dried those that were wette, and saved most of their things without any great loss; neither was the ship much hurt, but shee might be mended, and made servisable againe. But though they were not a litle glad that they had thus saved their lives, yet when they had a litle refreshed them selves, and begane to thinke on their condition, not knowing wher they were, nor what they should doe, they begane to be strucken with sadnes. But shortly after they saw some Indians come to them in canows, which made

[1] Oakum.

them stand upon their gard. But when they heard some of the Indeans speake English unto them, they were not a litle revived, especially when they heard them demand if they were the Gov[erno]r of Plimoths men, or freinds; and that they would bring them to the English houses, or carry their letters.[1]

They feasted these Indeans, and gave them many giftes; and sente·2· men and a letter with them to the Gove[rno]r, and did intreat him to send a boat unto them, with some pitch, and occume, and spikes, with divers other necessaries for the mending of ther ship (which was recoverable). Allso they besought him to help them with some corne and sundrie other things they wanted, to enable them to make their viage to Virginia; and they should be much bound to him, and would make satisfaction for any thing they had, in any comodities they had abord. After the Gov[erno]r was well informed by the messengers of their condition, he caused a boate to be made ready, and shuch things to be provided as they write for; and because others were abroad upon trading, and shuch other affairs, as had been fitte to send unto them, he went him selfe, and allso carried some trading comodities, to buy them corne of the Indeans. It was no season of the year to goe withoute the Cape, but understanding wher the ship lay, he went into the bottom of the bay, on the inside, and put into a crick called Naumskachett,[2] wher

[1] "Furthermore, if any roaving ships be upon the coasts, and chance to harbour either East-ward, North-ward, or South-ward in any unusuall Port, they [the Indians] will giue us certaine intelligence of her burthen and forces, describing their men either by language or features; which is a great priviledge and no small advantage." Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, *70.

[2] The creek still bears this name, and lies between Orleans and Brewster. On the harbors of Chatham, and the changes wrought by tide and storm the reader may consult 1 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VIII. 143. The old wreck was found on the strip of sand lying to the east of Namequoit Point or Potanumaquut. Freeman (*Ib.* 144) states "in the year 1626, there was an entrance into Monamoyick harbour, opposite Potanumaquut, six miles north of the present mouth. The ship mentioned by Prince [Bradford] came in here, and was stranded on the beach, where its ruins were to be seen about twenty years ago [*i.e. circa* 1780]. This part of the beach still bears the name of the Old ship. The entrance has been closed for many years."



CHATHAM, 1711-12.

it is not much above ·2· mile over [148] land to the bay wher they were, wher he had the Indeans ready to cary over any thing to them. Of his arrivall they were very glad, and received the things to mend ther ship, and other necessaries. Allso he bought them as much corne as they would have; and wheras some of their sea-men were rune away amonge the Indeans, he procured their returne to the ship, and so left them well furnished and contented, being very thankfull for the curtesies they receaved. But after the Gove[rno]r thus left them, he went into some other harbors ther aboute and loaded his boat with corne, which he traded, and so went home. But he had not been at home many days, but he had notice from them, that by the violence of a great storme, and the bad morring of their ship (after she was mended) she was put a shore, and so beatten and shaken as she was now wholy unfitte to goe to sea. And so their request was that they might have leave to repaire to them, and soujourne with them, till they could have means to convey them selves to Virginia; and that they might have means to transport their goods, and they would pay for the same, or any thing els wher with the plantation should releeve them. Considering their distres, their requests were granted, and all helpfullnes done unto them; their goods transported, and them selves and goods sheltered in their houses as well as they could.

The cheefe amongst these people was one Mr. Fells and Mr. Sibsie,[1] which had many servants belonging unto them, many of them being Irish. Some others ther were that had a servante or ·2·a

[1] The name of Captain John Sibsey frequently occurs in the local records of Norfolk County, Virginia. He served as a member of the House of Burgesses, of the Governor's Council, and of the county Board of War, positions which spoke to the confidence reposed in him. In 1638 he figured in the case of Deborah Glasscock, who, "without any ground, brought an outrageous charge" against him, and was sentenced to "receive one hundred stripes on her bare shoulders and to implore his pardon, first, in court in the justices' presence and afterwards in the parish church during divine service." Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, 1. 51, etc.

peece; but the most were servants, and shuch as were ingaged to the former persons, who allso had the most goods. Affter they were hither come, and some thing setled, the maisters desired some ground to imploye ther servants upon; seing it was like to be the latter end of the year before they could have passage for Virginia, and they had now the winter before them; they might clear some ground, and plant a crope (seeing they had tools, and necessaries for the same) to help to bear their charge, and keep their servants in imployment; and if they had oppertunitie to departe before the same was ripe, they would sell it on the ground. So they had ground appointed them in convenient places, and Fells and some other of them raised a great deall of corne, which they sould at their departure. This Fells, amongst his other servants, had a maid servante which kept his house and did his household affairs, and by the intimation of some that belonged unto him, he was susspected to keep her, as his concubine; and both of them were examined ther upon, but nothing could be proved, and they stood upon their justification; so with admonition they were dismiste. But afterward it appeard she was with child, so he gott a small boat, and ran away with her, for fear of punishmente.[1] First he went to Cap-Anne, and after into the bay of the Massachussets, but could get no passage, and had like to have been cast away; and was forst to come againe and submite him selfe; but they pact him away and those that belonged unto him by the first oppertunitie, and dismiste all the rest as soone as could, being many untoward people amongst them; though ther were allso some that caried them selves very orderly all the time they stayed. And the plan[149]tation had some benefite by them, in selling them corne and other provissions of food for cloathing; for they had of diverse kinds, as cloath, perpetuanes,[2]

[1] The two more than mysterious chapters, in Book III of Morton's *New English Canaan* (ch. IX and XIII) on the "barren doe of Virginia," may have some reference to this incident.

[2] A kind of wool, or wool and silk cloth. The *New English Dictionary* gives the



SANDWICH AND BOURNE.

and other stuffs, besides hose, and shoes, and such like commodities as the planters stood in need of. So they both did good, and received good one from another; and a cuple of barks caried them away at the later end of sommer. And sundrie of them have acknowledged their thankfullnes since from Virginia.

That they might the better take all convenient opportunitie to follow their trade, both to maintaine them selves, and to disingage them of those great sumes which they stood charged with, and bound for, they resoloved to build a smale pinass at Manamet,[1] a place · 20 · mile from the plantation, standing on the sea to the south ward of them, unto which, by an other creeke on this side, they could cary their goods, within · 4 · or · 5 · miles, and then transport them over land to their vessell; and so avoyd the compasing of Cap-Codd, and those deangerous shoulds, and so make any vioage to the southward in much shorter time, and with farr less danger. Also for the saftie of their vessell and goods, they builte a house theire, and kept some servants, who also planted corne, and reared some swine, and were allwayes ready to goe out with the barke

form *perpetuana*, and as a factitious trade name, applied to a durable fabric of wool manufactured in England from the xvith century. The industry appears to have been introduced into England by the Flemish refugees (Burn, *Foreign Protestant Refugees*, 5), and Dekker, writing in 1606 (*Seven Sinnes*), speaks of the "sober Perpetuana-suited Puritane."

[1] Manomet, lying on a fresh river of the same name, was known to the French and Dutch as well as to the Plymouth settlers. The Cape at that part gave only about six miles of land between Cape Cod Bay and Manomet or Buzzard's Bay, and the heads of Manomet River and a creek running into Scussett harbor were only a short distance apart. The river was navigable by boats of eight or ten tons as high as the village, and it was here that the Dutch, trading with the Wampanoags on Buzzard's Bay, came into contact with the Plymouth Colony. The sachem at the time of Bradford's visit in 1622 was Cawnacome, one of those who acknowledged themselves to be subjects of King James in the agreement signed September 13, 1621.' He died in 1623, after the killing of Peksuot. Vol. I. p. 296.

Manomet stream was visited by Bradford in 1622 in search of corn. The Indian name is said to have been Pimesepoese, meaning "provision rivulet." 2 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IV. 291.

when ther was occasion.[1] All which tooke good effecte, and turned to their profite.

They now sent (with the returne of the ships) Mr. Allerton againe into England, giveing him full power, under their hands and seals, to conclude the former bargaine with the adventurers; and sent ther bonds for the paimente of the money.[2] Allso they sent what beaver they could spare to pay some of their ingagementes, and to defray his charges; for those deepe interests still kepte them low. Also he had order to procure a patente[3] for a fitt trading place in the river of Kenebeck; for being emulated both by the planters at Pascataway and other places to the eastward of them, and allso by the fishing ships, which used to draw much profite from the Indeans

[1] "Coming out of the river Nassau [Narragansett Bay], you sail east-and-by-north about fourteen miles, along the coast, a half a mile from the shore, and you then come to 'Frenchman's Point' [2 *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, I. 364], at a small river where those of Patucxet have a house made of hewn oak planks, called Aptucxet [Manomet], where they keep two men, winter and summer, in order to maintain the trade and possession. Where also they have built a shallop in order to go and look after the trade in sewan, in Sloup's Bay [the western entrance to Narragansett Bay] and thereabouts, because they are afraid to pass Cape Mallabaer, and in order to avoid the length of the way; which I have prevented for this year [1627] by selling them fifty fathoms of sewan. . . . From Aptucxet the English can come in six hours, through the woods, passing several little rivulets of fresh water, to New Plymouth, the principal place in the county Patucxet, so called in their Patent from his Majesty in England." Rasiere, 2 *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, II. 350. Sloup's Bay is noted on the Dutch map in this volume. Sewan was wampampeage. The site of the trading house at Manomet was established by Dr. John Batchelder by means of a grant made, in 1655, to James Skiffe, a freeman of Sandwich. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, III. 84. His account is printed in Russell, *Pilgrim Memorials* (3d ed.), 148. He believed Nassau River to be the present Weweantic, and Frenchman's Point to be Agawam Point.

[2] If any judgment may be drawn from Sherley's letter of November 17, 1628 (p. 32, *infra*), Allerton sailed soon after May 26, and on the *Marmaduke*, John Gibbs, master. If Deane's conjecture on the date of Sherley's letter (p. 36, *infra*) be correct, Allerton sailed after June 14, as he carried a letter of Bradford written on that date.

[3] So far as is known no application for a patent was then before the Council for New England for any part of the New England territory under its jurisdiction. Between 1622 when the Gorges-Norton patent issued, and 1627, when New Plymouth obtained its Kennebec patent, an indifference to western adventures prevailed.

of those parts, they threatened to procure a grante, and shutte them out from thence; espetially after they saw them so well furnished with commodities, as to carie the trade from them.[1] They thought it but needfull to prevente shuch a thing, at least that they might



NEW AMSTERDAM, *c.* 1630

not be excluded from free trade ther, wher them selves had first begune and discovered the same, a[n]d brought it to so good effecte. This year allso they had letters, and messengers from the Dutch-plantation, sent unto them from the Gov[erno]r ther, writen both in Dutch and French.[2] The Dutch had traded in these southerne

[1] See vol. I. p. 439.

[2] The first advances to a correspondence came from the Dutch. In his *Letter Book* Bradford notes: "This year we had letters sent us from the Dutch plantation, of whom we had heard much by the natives, but never could hear from them nor meet with them before themselves thus writ to us, and after sought us out; their letters were writ in a very fair hand, the one in French, and the other in Dutch, but were one *verbatim*, so far as the tongue would bear." Here apparently followed in the *Letter Book* a transcript of this letter of March 9, 1627 (N. S.), in Low Dutch, and after the transcript Bradford added: "I will not trouble myself to translate this letter, seeing the effect of it will be understood by the answer which now follows in English, though writ to them in Dutch." As Bradford was familiar with Dutch the translation

parts, diverse years before they came; but they begane no plantation hear till · 4· or· 5 · years after their coming, and here begining. Ther letters were as followeth. It being their maner to be full of complementall titles.

EEDELE, EERENFESTE WYSE VOORSINNIGE HEEREN, DEN GOVEERNEUR, ENDE RAEDEN IN NIEU-PLIEMUEN RESIDERENDE; ONSE SEER GOEDE VRINDEN.

Den directeur ende Raed van Nieu-Nederlande, wensen vue Ede: eerenfesten, ende wijse voorsinnige geluck salichitt [gelukzaligheid?], In Christi Jesu onsen Heere; met goede voorspoet, ende gesonthijt, naer siele, ende lichaem. Amen.[1]

The rest I shall render in English, leaving out the repetition of superfluous titles. [150]

We have often before this wished for an opportunitie or an occasion to congratulate you, and your prosperous and praise-worthy undertakeings, and Goverment of your colony ther. And the more, in that we also have made a good begining to pitch the foundation of a collonie hear; and seeing our native countrie lyes not farr from yours, and our forefathers (diverse hundred years agoe) have made and held frendship and alliance with your ancestours, as sufficently appears by the old contractes and entercourses, confirmed under the hands of kings and princes, in the pointe of warr and trafick; as may be seene and, read by all the world in the old chronakles. The which are not only by the king now reigning confirmed, but it hath pleased his majesty, upon mature

used in his *History* was in all probability his own; but it is a matter for regret that the editors of the *Letter Book* did not reproduce the Dutch version of the letter. Bradford replies in Dutch.

[1] "The orthography of some of these words differs from the modern way of spelling them; and we have no means of ascertaining the accuracy of Bradford's copy from the original letter. This passage may be rendered thus: 'noble, worshipful, wise, and prudent Lords, the Governor and Councillors residing in New Plymouth, our very dear friends: — The Director and Council of New Netherland wish to your Lordships, worshipful, wise and prudent, happiness in Christ Jesus our Lord, with prosperity and health, in soul and body.'" DEANE.

PLACCAET
Wy de Hooghmo: Heeren
Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden/
ghemaeckt op 't beslvyt vande West-
Indisschye Compaignie.



IN 'sGRAVEN-HAGHE,
By Hillebrant Iacobsz, Ordinaris ende Gheswooren
Drucker vande Ho: Mo: Heeren Staten Generael.
Anno 1621. *Met Previlegie.*

deliberation, to make a new covenante, (and to take up armes,) with the States Generall of our dear native country, against our commone enemie the Spaniards, who seeke nothing else but to usurpe and overcome other Christian kings and princes lands, that so he might obtaine and possess his pretended monarchie over all Christendom; and so to rule and command, after his owne pleasure, over the consciences of so many hundred thousand sowles, which God forbid.[1]

[1] While the Dutch had traded for furs on the Mauritius or Hudson's River, and had explored the country near Manhattan, no permanent settlement was made until 1614, when they constructed the small fort on Castle Island near Albany, called Fort Nassau, to protect their fur traders. The burning of Adriaen Block's ship, the *Tiger*, at Manhattan, led to his stay on that island, where he passed the winter of 1613–14 in building a "jagt," the *Onrust*. A few huts at the southern end of the island gave them shelter, and the Indians supplied them with food and other necessaries. De Laet, Book III, ch. x. In this boat of about sixteen tons burden, Block and his companions explored the coast of Connecticut, penetrating far into the interior by the Fresh or Connecticut River, the bay of Narragansett, Cape Cod and the coast of Cape Cod Bay as far as latitude forty-three, ending in Pye Bay, now Nahant Bay. Returning to the Cape Block entered another ship, and leaving the *Onrust* on the coast for further exploration, returned to Holland to make a report of his discoveries. The "figurative map" reproduced in these volumes is based upon his accounts, and constituted the foundation of the exclusive rights, granted for four voyages to a company of merchants by the States-General, to visit and navigate the lands lying in America between New France and Virginia, or between the fortieth and the forty-fifth degrees of latitude, known as New Netherland. Dermer in 1620 found the Dutch actively trading at Manhattan, and warned them away as interlopers and trespassers. The Dutch could not recognize the claim of absolute dominion made by the English, and with the formation in 1621 of the Dutch West India Company, intended to be a trade monopoly for a period of twenty-four years, and invested with very great powers of trade, colonization and government, the real importance of the settlements on the Hudson River began. In the issue of the charter to the Council for New England (1620) and the subsequent inquiry into its monopolistic features by Parliament, this settlement of New Netherland of the Dutch was entirely ignored. Gorges and his associates had received Dermer's intelligence, and probably were acquainted with the formation of the West India Company; for, six months after the issue of that charter, and in December, 1621, protest was made through Sir Dudley Carleton, then the British representative at the Hague, against further adventures of the Dutch in New England, either in way of trade or colonization. Carleton could not learn of any actual or intended colony in New Netherland, though ships passed there in trade, and with that the matter ceased to be of diplomatic importance. For two years nothing was done

And also seeing it hath some time since been reported unto us, by some of our people, that by occasion came so farr northward with their shalop, and met with sundry of the Indeans, who tould them that they were within halfe a days journey of your plantation, and offered ther service to cary letters unto you; therfore we could not forbear to salute you with these few lines, with presentation of our good will and servise unto you, in all frendly kindnes and neighbourhood. And if it so



NEW AMSTERDAM

under the charter towards colonization, but in the spring of 1623 the first permanent agricultural settlers took formal possession of Manhattan, established a station on the South or Delaware River, and constructed Fort Orange on the site of Albany. The fur interests increased in value, but the English were too much engrossed in other directions to give much attention to the New Netherland activities, and in September, 1625, the English and Dutch were more closely allied by the treaty of Southampton, which brought them into a combined effort to prey upon the commerce of Spain, and, to further that end, threw open their ports reciprocally to the war and merchant vessels of both parties to that treaty. Another step towards strengthening the Dutch title was the purchase from the Indians, in 1626, of the island of Manhattan by Peter Minuit, director, representing the West India Company. Trade had been prosecuted on the Fresh or Connecticut River, and while a factor may have been settled on its banks, a regular fort was not completed until 1633.

Some idea of the profits gained from the trade with the Indians is given by Higginson, in his *New England's Plantation*, *B2: "It is almost incredible what great gaine some of our English Planters haue had by our Indian Corne. Credible persons have assured me, and the partie himselfe auouched the truth of it to me, that of the setting of 13 Gallons of Corne he hath had encrease of it 52 Hogsheads, euerie Hogshead holding seuen Bushels of *London* measure, and euerie Bushell was by him sold and trusted to the *Indians* for so much Beauer as was worth 18 shillings; and so of this 13 Gallons of Corne which was worth 6 shillings 8 pence, he made about 327 pounds of it the yeere following, as by reckoning will appeare."

fall out that any goods that comes to our hands from our native countrie, may be serviceable unto you, we shall take ourselves bound to help and accommodate you ther with; either for beaver or any other wares or merchandise that you should be pleased to deale for.[1] And if in case we have no commodity at present that may give you contente, if you please to sell us any beaver, or otter, or shuch like comodities as may be usefull for us, for ready money, and let us understand therof by this bearer in writing, (whom we have apoynted to stay ·3· or ·4· days for your answer,) when we understand your minds therin, we shall depute one to deale with you, at shuch place as you shall appointe. In the mean time we pray the Lord to take you, our honoured good freinds and neighbours, into his holy protection.

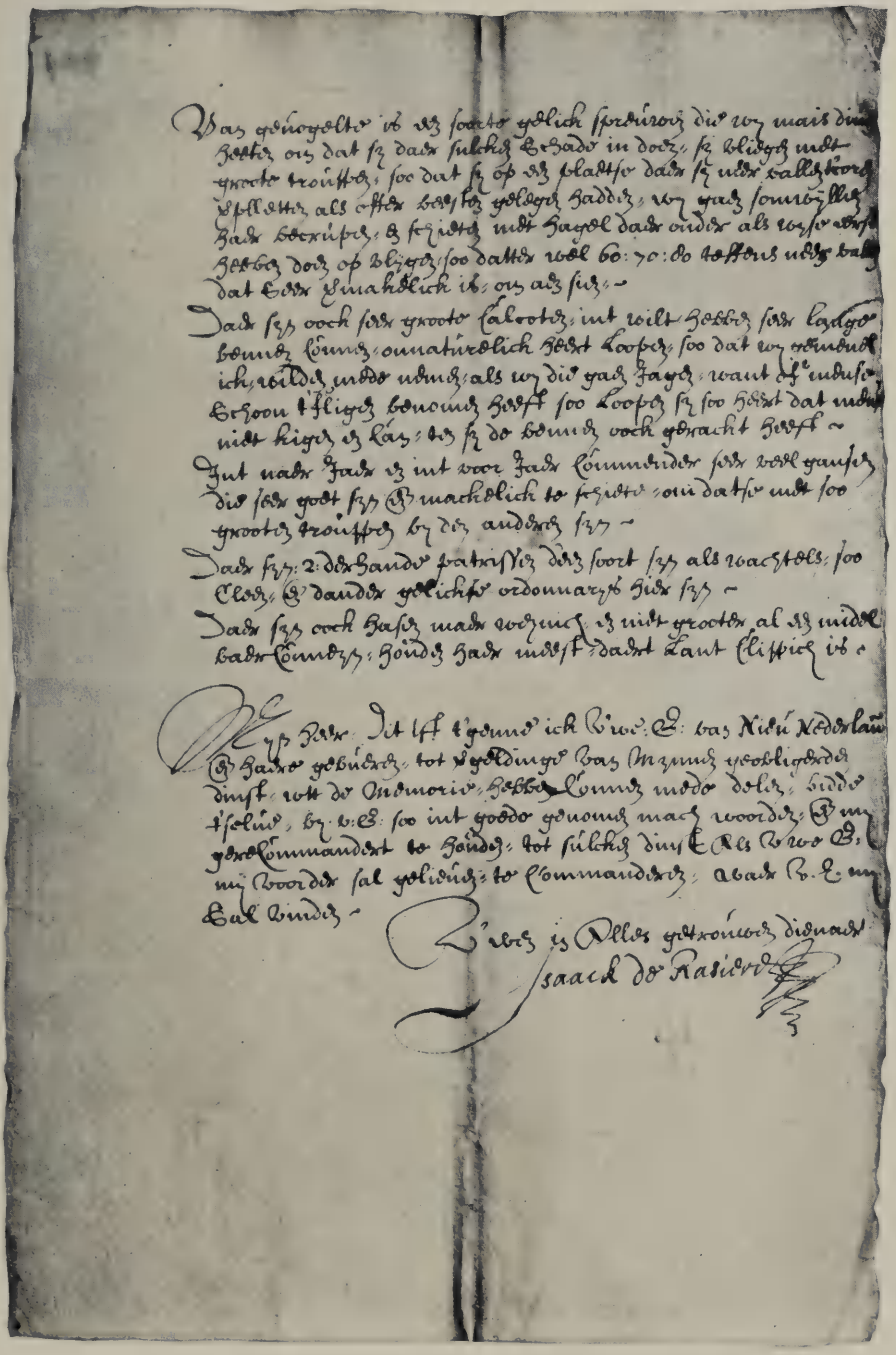
By the appointment of the Gov[erno]r and Counsell, etc.

ISAAK DE RASIER[E], Secrectaris.[2]

From the Manhatas, in the fort Amsterdam,
March ·9· Anno, 1627.

[1] There can be no question that Manhattan received from the West India Company a better assortment of Indian goods than New Plymouth enjoyed, and, being a trading settlement, developed a keener commercial sense and a wider experience than did the settlers at New Plymouth. This experience was marked by some great errors and blunders which imperilled their relations and friendship with the Indians; but on the whole the Dutch, lying as they did between two hostile tribes, the Mohawks and the Mohegans, evidenced quite as high skill in maintaining trade connections with the natives as did the French. Had Rasiere realized the interest of New Plymouth in the development of a trade for furs, made all the more necessary by the agreement with the London Adventurers, he would not have made a proposition that could be interpreted only as one injurious to the interests of New Plymouth. Bradford meets it by asking prices and if other produce would be taken, and suggested the measure for controlling the trade in furs (p. 26, *infra*).

[2] Bradford elsewhere speaks of Rasiere as the "upper *commis*, or chief merchant, and second to the Governor; a man of a fair and genteel behavior, but soon after fell into disgrace amongst them, by reason of their factions." *Letter Book*. Rasiere was a French Protestant, a Walloon, and had become "Opper Koopman" or chief commissary under Director Minuit at New Netherland, acting at the same time as Secretary of the Colony. He went out on the ship *Arms of Amsterdam*, which arrived at New Netherland on July 27, 1626 (N. S.), and is believed to have returned to the Netherlands in the following year. See "note" by J. Romeyn Brodhead in 2 *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, II. 341.



ISAACK DE RASIERE

To this they returned answer as followeth, on the other side.[151][1]

To THE HONOURED, etc.

The Gove[rno]r and Counsell of New-Plim[outh] wisheth, etc.[2] We have received your leters, etc. wherin appeareth your good wills and frendship towards us; but is expresed with over high titles, more then belongs to us, or is meete for us to receive. But for your good will, and congratulations of our prosperitie in these smale beginings of our poore colonie, we are much bound unto you, and with many thanks doe acknowledge the same; taking it both for a great honour done unto us, and for a certaine testimoney of your love and good neighbourhood.

Now these are further to give your Wor[shi]pps to understand, that it is to us no smale joye to hear, that his majestie hath not only bene pleased to confirme that ancient amitie, aliance, and frendship, and other contracts, formerly made and ratified by his predecessors of famous memorie, but hath him selfe (as you say) strengthened the same with a new-union the better to resist the pride of that commone enemy the Spaniard, from whose cruelty the Lord keep us both, and our native countries. Now forasmuch as this is sufficiente to unite us to geather in love and good neighbourhood, in all our dealings, yet are many of us further obliged, by the good and curteous entreaty which we have found in your countrie; haveing lived ther many years, with freedome, and good contente, as also many of our freinds doe to this day; for which we, and our children after us, are bound to be thankfull to your Nation, and shall never forgett the same, but shall hartily desire your good and prosperity, as our owne, for ever.

Likewise for your freindly tender, and offer to accommodate and help us with any comodities or marchandise you have, or shall come to you, either for beaver, otters, or other wares, it is to us very acceptable, and we doubte not but in short time we may have profitable commerce and trade togeather.[3] But for this year we are fully supplyed with all

[1] This being the conclusion of page 150 in the manuscript.

[2] Bradford added fit terms for the complimentary language of the Dutch: "your Honors and worships all happiness, and prosperity in this life, and eternal rest and glory with Christ Jesus our Lord in the world to come."

[3] The original letter contained at this point the following warning: "But you may

necessaries, both for cloathing and other things; but hereafter it is like we shall deale with you, if your rates be reasonable. And therfore when you please to send to us againe by any of yours, we desire to know how you will take beaver, by the pounde, and otters, by the skine; and how you will deal per cent: for other comodities, and what you can furnishe us with. As likwise what other commodities from us may be acceptable unto you, as tobaco, fish, corne, or other things, and what prises you will give, etc.

Thus hoping that you will pardon and excuse us for our rude and imperfecte writing in your language, and take it in good parte, because [152] for wante of use we cannot so well express that we understand, nor hapily understand every thing so fully as we should. And so we humbly pray the Lord for his mercie sake, that he will take both us and you into his keeping and gratious protection.

By the Gove[rno]r and Counsell of New-Plimoth,

Your Wor[shi]pps very good freinds and neigbours, etc.[1]

New-Plim[outh]: March 19.

please to understand that we are but one particular colony or plantation in this land, there being divers others besides, unto whom it hath pleased those Honourable Lords of his Majesty's Council for New England, to grant the like commission, and ample privileges to them (as to us) for their better profit and subsistence; namely to expulse, or make prize of any, either strangers or other English, which shall attempt, either to trade or plant within their limits (without their special licence and commission) which extends to forty degrees: Yet for our parts, we shall not go about to molest or trouble you in any thing, but continue all good neighbourhood and correspondence as far as we may; only we desire that you would forbear to trade with the natives in this bay, and river of Naragansett and Sowames, which is (as it were) at our doors: The which if you do, we think also no other English will go about any way to trouble or hinder you; which otherwise are resolved to solicit his Majesty for redress, if otherwise they cannot help themselves." *Bradford Letter Book.* As no answer was received by the Dutch to their letters, early in August Minuit despatched to New Plymouth a messenger, in the person of Jan Jacobsen, of Wiringen, captain of the ship *Three Kings*, then at Manhattan. By him some sugar and cheese were presented as a token of good will, and the request made that Bradford should either send a representative to Manhattan, or receive one from that place, to confer upon mutual commerce and trading. Jacobsen performed his mission, was entertained by Bradford, and returned

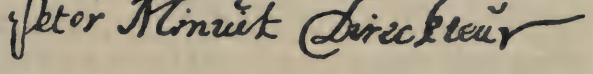
[1] Bradford feared lest his correspondence with the Dutch of New Netherland

After this ther was many passages between them both by letters and other entercourse; and they had some profitable commerce togither for diverce years, till other occasions interrupted the same, as may happily appear afterwards, more at large.

with a letter that contained a threat but thinly veiled. Bradford advised the Dutch to come to some understanding with the English king, and warned them of the danger of capture at the hands of English trading or fishing ships should their vessels be found trading in New England. *Bradford Letter Book*, 53.

"would procure us envy from others in the land, and that at one time or other, our enemies would take occasion to raise slanders and frame accusations against us for it; therefore, to prevent their malice, as also to shew the sincerity of our dealing and our loyal and dutiful respect to his Majesty and the Honourable Council for New England," he sent copies of their first interchange of letters to the Council, and wrote on his own behalf to the Council and to Gorges. These letters are in *Bradford Letter Book*, 56.

Nor did Minuit remain idle. Recognizing the danger which the English claims involved he wrote to his employers asking for troops. The Assembly of the XIX, in whose keeping had been placed the interests of the plantation, wrote to the States-General, November 16 (N. S.), 1627: "The last letters from New Netherland bring word, that the English of New Plymouth threaten to drive away those there, or to disturb them in their settlement and little colony, notwithstanding our's heretofore had tendered to them every good correspondence and friendship. They therefore request the aid of forty Soldiers for their defence. We would rather see it secured by friendly alliance." *Col. Hist. of New York*, I. 38.



Some years later, Mason sought to excite the British ministers to take some measures against the Dutch, and wrote in April, 1632: "And albeit they [the Dutch] were warned by the English plantation at New Plymmouth to forbeare trade and not to make any settlement in those partes, letting them know that they were the territories of the King of England, yett nevertheless with proude and contumacious answers (saying they had commission to fight against such as should disturbe their settlement) they did persist to plant and trade, vilefying our Nation to the Indians and extolling their owne people and countrye of Holland, and have made sundry good returnes of commodities from thence into Holland." *Col. Hist. of New York*, III. 17.

The information given by these letters of Bradford served to bolster up the complaints made by Captain John Mason against the Dutch. Sir Ferdinando Gorges wished to come to Mason's aid, but he had been injured by a fall from his horse, and was unable to travel to London. He wrote to Mason, April 6, 1632: "I am sory to

Before they sent Mr. Allerton away for England[1] this year, the Gove[rno]r and some of their cheefe freinds had serious consideration, not only how they might discharge those great ingagements which lay so heavily upon them, as is affore mentioned, but also how they might (if possiblie they could) devise means to help some of their freinds and breethren of Leyden over unto them, who desired so much to come to them, and they desired as much their company. To effecte which, they resolved to rune a high course, and of great adventure, not knowing otherwise how to bring it aboute. Which was to hire the trade of the company for certaine years, and in that time to undertake to pay that 1800*li.* and all the rest of the debts that then lay upon the plantation, which was aboute some 600*li.* more; and so to set them free, and returne the trade to the generalitie againe at the end of the terme. Upon which resolution they called the company togeither, and made it clearly appear unto all what their debts were, and upon what terms they would undertake to pay them all in shuch a time, and sett them clear. But their other ends they were faine to keepe secrete, haveing only privatly acquaynted some of their trusty freinds therwith; which were glad of the same, but doubted how they would be able to performe it. So after some agitation of the thing with the company, it was yeelded unto, and the agreemente made upon the conditions following.[2]

heere you are soe poorely seconded in a matter soe just and honorable. I conceive you may have from Mr. Shirly a coppy of that which came to my hands from those of New Plymouth, with more particulars than came to mee. Itt may please you that hee may bee spoken with about it. I doubt not but att my cominge, I shalbee able to give both his Majestie and the Lords sufficient satisfaccon for to fortifie the justefyinge (not the stay of the shipp onely) but to prosecute their displanting from thence." *Col. Hist. of New York*, III. 18.

[1] In a letter to the Dutch, October 1, 1627, Bradford speaks of having sent "our factor into England and Holland about our trade and supplies."

[2] In his *Letter Book* Bradford somewhat enlarges upon the objects of this agreement: "Being thus deeply engaged, and a few only of us being bound to make payment of all, yea, in a double bond; for besides our formal bonds, it was our credits and

Articles of agreemente betweene the collony of New-Plimmoth of the one partie, and William Bradford, Captein Myles Standish, Isaack Allerton, etc. one the other partie; and shuch others as they shall thinke good to take as partners and undertakers with them, concerning the trade for beaver and other furrs and comodities, etc.; made July, 1627.

First, it is agreed and covenanted betweexte the said parties, that the afforsaid William Bradford, Captain Myles Standish, and Isaack Allerton,[1] etc.,[2] have undertaken, and doe by these presents, covenante and agree to pay, discharge, and acquite the said collony of all the

honesty that made our friends rest and rely upon us, assuring themselves, that if we lived and it was possible, we should see them have their monies: Therefore we thought it our safest and best course to come to some agreement with the people, to have the whole trade consigned to us for some years; and so in the time to take upon us, to pay all the debts and set them free: Another reason which moved us to take this heavy burthen upon our shoulders was, our great desire to transport as many of our brethren of Leyden over unto us, as we could, but without this course we could never have done it, all here being (for peace and unity's sake) made joint purchasers with us, and every one thereby had as much interest as ourselves; and many were very opposite here against us in respect of the great charge: Again we well knew, that, except we followed our trading roundly, we should never be able to do the one or the other; therefore we sought means to have our patent enlarged, and to have some good trading places included therein; that if we could not keep them thereby wholly to ourselves, yet that none should exclude or thrust us wholly out of them, as we well knew that some would have done, if we now had not laid hold of the opportunity: Therefore Mr. Allerton was sent over to prosecute these things, and to acquaint those few of our friends in England, whom the year before were joined purchasers with us, what agreements we had made and concluded with our people, and for what ends, and so to offer them to be our partners in trade and the whole business; writing our letters unto them for that end." 59.

[1] These three made choice of others to be associated with them as undertakers — Edward Winslow, William Brewster, John Howland, John Alden and Thomas Prence, — "and though they knew not their minds before (many of them being absent) yet they did presume they would join with them in the thing, as afterward they did." The London associates were James Sherley, John Beauchamp, Richard Andrews and Timothy Hatherley. *Letter Book.* Allerton seems to have had closer relations with the London partners than with those of New Plymouth, a circumstance which led him into courses that in the event proved generally disastrous.

[2] The "etc." stands for "and such others as they shall take unto them."

debtes both due for the purchass, or any other belonging to them, at the day of the date of these presents. [153]

Secondly, the above-said parties are to have and freely injoye the pinass latly builte, the boat at Manamett, and the shalop, called the Bass-boat, with all other implements to them belonging, that is in the store of the said company; with all the whole stock of furrs, fells, beads, corne, wampampeak, hatchets, knives, etc. that is now in the storre, or any way due unto the same uppon accounte.

3ly. That the above said parties have the whole trade to them selves their heires and assignes, with all the privileges therof, as the said collonie doth now, or may use the same, for ·6· full years, to begine the last of September next insuing.

4ly. In furder consideration of the discharge of the said debtes, every severall purchaser doth promise and covenante yearly to pay, or cause to be payed, to the above said parties, during the full terme of the said ·6· years, ·3· bushells of corne, or 6*li.* of tobaco, at the undertakers choyse.

5ly. The said undertakers shall dureing the afforesaid terme bestow 50*li.* per annum, in hose and shoese, to be brought over for the collonies use, to be sould unto them for corne at 6*s.* per bushell.

6ly. That at the end of the said terme of ·6· years, the whole trade shall returne to the use and benefite of the said collonie, as before.

Lastly, if the afforesaid undertakers, after they have aquainted their freinds in England with these covenants, doe (upon the first returne) resolve to performe them, and undertake to discharge the debtes of the said collony, according to the true meaning and intente of these presents, then they are (upon shuch notice given) to stand in full force; otherwise all things to remaine as formerly they were, and a true accounte to be given to the said collonie, of the disposing of all things according to the former order.[1]

[1] From the *Letter Book* are obtained the names of the signers of this agreement, and Bradford states, "this agreement was by these subscribed; for some would not subscribe, and some were from home."

William Brewster	Cudbert Cudbers[on]	William Palmer
Stephen Hopkins	John Adams	Exper. Michell
Francis Eaton	Phineas Pratt	Edward Bangs

Mr. Allerton carried a coppy of this agreemente with him into England, and amongst other his instructions had order given him to deale with some of their speciall freinds, to joyne with them in this trade upon the above recited conditions; as allso to imparte their further ends that moved them to take this course, namly, the helping over of some their freinds from Leyden, as they should be able; in which if any of them would joyne with them they should thankfully accepte of their love and partnership herein. And with all (by their letters) gave them some grounds of their hopes of the accomplishmente of these things with some advantage.

Jona. Brewster	Stephen Trasie	Samuel Fuller
Manas. Kempton	Edward Doty	Robert Hicks
Thomas Prence	Joshua Pratt	John Howland
Anthony Anable	Stephen Dean	John Billington
John Shaw	William Wright	Peter Brown
William Bassett	Francis Cook	John Fance

This monopoly of the trade in beaver and other commodities was apparently renewed after the expiration of the first period of six years, though no record of formal action upon it exists; for in 1637 the question again came up for regulation, as will be noted under that year. The Dutch West India Company exported from New Netherland in 1626, 7,258 beavers and 857 otters, etc., the whole valued at 45,050 guilders; in 1627, 7,520 beavers, and 370 otters, etc., valued at 12,720 guilders; and in 1628, 6,951 beavers, and 734 otters, etc., valued at 61,075 guilders. It is difficult to explain the low valuation for 1627, unless an unusual demand or very valuable furs raised the values in the other two years. Writing about this time Father Charles L'Allemant speaks of beaver skins forming the real wealth of the Indians in Canada, and in the exchange of which the traders find their greatest profit. In one year from 12,000 to 15,000 skins would be obtained at one pistole each (about 16/) "which is not doing badly." *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites), iv. 207. The Dutch ship *Eendracht*, which went into the harbor of Plymouth, England, in June, 1632, had five thousand beaver skins in her cargo. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the Council for New England sought to have her held on the ground that her cargo had been obtained from English possessions, and that the Dutch were appropriating English territories. The Dutch representatives protested against the seizure, and carrying the matter to the King were told that the High Mightinesses had, at the request of his father [James I] interdicted their subjects from trading in those parts; but he was not certain of his right in the case, and could not release the vessel. Brodhead, *History of New York*, 214.

Anno Dom: ·1628·

AFTER Mr. Alertons arivall in England,[1] he aquainted them with his comission and full power to conclude the forementioned bargan and purchas;[2] upon [154] the veiw wherof, and the delivery of the bonds for the paymente of the money yearly, (as is before mentioned,) it was fully concluded, and a *deede*[3] fairly ingrossed in partchmente was delivered him, under their hands and seals confirming the same. Morover he delte with them aboute other things according to his instructions. As to admitte some of these their good freinds into this purchass if they pleased, and to deal with them for moneys at better rates, etc. Touching which I shall hear inserte a letter of Mr. Sherleys, giving light to what followed thereof, writ to the Gov[erno]r as followeth.[4]

SIR: I have received yours of the ·26· of May by Mr. *Gibs*, and Mr. *Goffe*,[5] with the barrell of otter skins, according to the contents; for which I got a bill of store, and so tooke them up, and sould them to-

[1] "In the summer or autumn of 1627." DEANE.

[2] See p. 4, *supra*.

[3] Nov. 6, 1627, Page 238. — BRADFORD. Reference is here made to the folio of the original manuscript.

[4] Deane conjectures that this letter should be dated 1627.

[5] Thomas Goffe, a merchant of London, and adventurer in the New Plymouth settlement, and named deputy governor of the company in the patent of Massachusetts Bay. The New Plymouth plantation owed him some money, for which the Company of the Massachusetts Bay agreed with that of New Plymouth to deliver "six sowes with pigg, for which they are to be allowed 9*l* in accompt of what they owe vnto Mr. Goffe, Deputie." *Craddock to Endecott*, April 17, 1629. *Mass. Col. Rec.*, I. 392. He met with misfortunes in 1630. Winthrop, I. *37; 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 14.

geather at 78*li.* 12*s.* sterling;[1] and since, Mr. Allerton hath received the money, as will apear by the accounte. It is true (as you write) that your ingagments are great, not only the purchass, but you are yet necessitated to take up the stock you work upon; and that not at ·6· or ·8· per cent. as it is here let out, but at ·30· ·40· yea, and some at ·50· per cent. which, were not your gaines great, and Gods blessing on your honest indea[v]ours more then ordinarie, it could not be that you should longe subsiste in the maintaining of, and upholding of your worldly affaires. And this your honest and discreete agente, Mr. Allerton, hath seriously considered, and deeply laid to mind, how to ease you of it.[2] He tould me you were contented to accepte of me and some

[1] 1628. Rec. out of the *Marmaduck*, by John Gibbs, 220 otters' with mincks' and quash skins, sold at £78. 12. 0

Rec. out of the *Whitt Angell*, by Christopher Burkett, 494 lb. 8 d. beaver, sold at 15*s.* 6*d.* amounts to 383. 14. 3

Rec. out of the *Pleasure*, Wm. Peeters, master, 209 lb. 12d. beaver, at 16*s.* 4*d.* 171. 5. 11

40 otters' skins sold together 29. 0. 0

200. 5. 11

Rebated, because they were exceeding wet, and doubtful some mistake in the weight, the sum of 2. 15. 3

So they yielded, to be put to account 197. 10. 8

659. 16. 11

Sherley's account in 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, I. 201. The statement may have been prepared in 1631, or later, as the first recorded voyage of the *White Angel* was made in that year, and beaver was sent by her (p. 110, *infra*). No record of the *Pleasure's* voyage has been found.

[2] Sherley's accounts for 1628 show that the rates of interest charged were heavier than the letter indicates.

"Memorandum. The Company stand indebted unto these several men following, for principal moneys borrowed of them as foll:

To John Beauchampe ℔ bond bearing date the 18th day of November, 1628, payable on the 25th day of October, 1629, being principal money only, the sum of 160. 0. 0

To James Sherley, ℔ bond dated the 18th of November, 1628, payable on the 25th of October, 1629, being principal money only 80. 0. 0

To Richard Andrewes, ℔ bond dated the 18th of November, 1628, payable the 15th of October, 1629, being principal money 40. 0. 0

280. 0. 0

few others, to joyne with you in the purchass, as partners; for which I kindly thanke you and all the rest, and doe willingly accepte of it. And though absente, shall willingly be at shuch charge as you and the rest shall thinke meete; and this year am contented to forbear my former 50*li.* and ·2· years increase for the venture, both which now makes it 80*li.* without any bargaine or condition for the profite, you (I mean the generalitie) stand to the adventure, outward, and homeward. I have perswaded Mr. Andrews and Mr. Beachamp to doe the like, so as you are eased of the high rate, you were at the other ·2· yeares; I say we leave it freely to your selves to alow us what you please, and as God shall blesse. What course I rune, Mr. Beachamp desireth to doe the same; and though he have been or seemed somwhat harsh heretofore, yet now you shall find he is new moulded. I allso see by your letter, you desire I should be your agente or factore hear. I have ever found you so faithfull, honest, and upright men, as I have even resolved with my selfe (God assisting me) to doe you all the good lyeth in my power; and therfore if you please to make choyse of so weak a man, both for abillities and body, to performe your bussines, I promise (the Lord enabling me) to doe the best I can according to those abillities he hath given me; and wherin I faile, blame your selves, that you made no better choyce. Now, because I am sickly, and we are all mortall, I have advised Mr. Allerton to joyne Mr. Beachamp with me in your deputation, which I conceive to be very necessary and good for you; your charge shall be no more, for it is not your salarie makes me undertake your [156][1] bussines. Thus comending you and yours, and all

These three men supplied Allerton with £200, and presumably for two years, as his commission directed (vol. I. p. 451). But the debt was incurred in 1626, and had already run for two years at thirty per cent a year. The interest is now (1628) made part of the capital sum.

It must be remembered that Sherley was a goldsmith, and the goldsmiths were the bankers of that time. The great influx of precious metals into Spain from the New World passed by way of trade to other nations, and gave the means for forming loanable capital, to be employed in industries and foreign commerce. The merchant no longer limited his operations to his own capital, but traded also on borrowed capital, and it was the goldsmiths who constituted the lending class. Through them developed the methods of modern banking.

[1] 155 omitted in original MS.

Gods people, unto the guidance and protection of the Allmightie, I ever rest,

Your faithfull loving freind,

London, Nov[ember] 17. 1628. JAMES SHERLEY.

Another letter of his, that should have bene placed before.[1]

We cannot but take notice how the Lord hath been pleased to crosse our proseedings, and caused many disasters to befale us therin. I conceive the only reason to be, we, or many of us, aimed at other ends then Gods glorie; but now I hope that cause is taken away; the bargen being fully concluded, as farr as our powers will reach, and [2] confirmed under our hands and seals, to Mr. Allerton and the rest of his and your copartners. But for my owne parte, I confess as I was loath to hinder the full confirming of it, being the first propounder ther of at our meeting; so on the other side, I was as unwilling to set my hand to the sale, being the receiver of most part of the adventures, and a second causer of much of the ingagments; and one more threatened, being most envied and aimed at (if they could find any stepe to ground their malice on) then any other whosoever. I profess I know no just cause they ever had, or have, so to doe; neither shall it ever be proved that I have wronged them or any of the adventurers, wittingly or willingly, one peny in the disbursing of so many pounds [3] in those · 2 · years trouble. No, the sole cause why they maligne [4] me (as I and others conceived) was that I would not side with them against you, and the going over of the Leyden people. But as I then card not, so now I litle fear what they can doe; yet charge and trouble I know they may cause me to be at. And for these reasons, I would gladly have perswaded the other

[1] In the *Letter Book* this letter immediately follows what is printed as a note on p. 7, *supra*, and is introduced by the following words and address: "A letter of Mr. Sherley's to myself upon this conclusion, as followeth: To his very loving and much respected friend, Mr. William Bradford, Governor of Plymouth, in New-England, these.

"MOST WORTHY AND BELOVED SIR, I have received your letter of the 14th of June last, by your and my loving friend, Mr. Allerton, wherein it pleaseth you to express more thankfulness than I have deserved; I confess my desire is much larger than my power, to do you and those good friends with you, the good I would."

[2] In the *Letter Book* it reads, "and as farr as our powers will reach, confirmed."

[3] "the best part of five thousand pounds." *Letter Book.*

[4] "malice," in *Letter Book.*

·4·[1] to have sealed to this bargaine, and left me out, but[2] they would not; so rather then it should faile, Mr. Alerton having taken so much pains,[3] I have sealed with the rest; with this proviso and promise of his, that if any trouble arise hear, you are to bear[4] halfe the charge. Wherfore now I doubt not but you will give your generallitie good contente, and setle[5] peace amongst your selves, and peace with the natives; and then no doubt but the God of Peace will blesse your going out and your returning, and cause all that you sett your hands unto to prosper; the which I shall ever pray the Lord to grante if it be his blessed will.[6] Asuredly unless the Lord be mercifull unto us and the whole land in generall, our estate and condition is farr worse then yours. Wherfore if the Lord should send persecution or trouble hear, (which is much to be feared,) and so should put into our minds to flye for refuge, I know no place safer then to come to you, (for all Europ is at varience one with another, but cheefly with us,) not doubting but to find shuch frendly entertainmente as shall be honest and conscionable, notwithstanding what hath latly passed. For I profess in the word of an honest man, had it not been to procure your peace and quiet from some turbulent spirites hear, I would not have sealed to this last deed; though you would have given me all my adventure and debte ready downe.[7] Thus desiring the Lord to blesse and prosper you, I cease ever resting,

Your faithfull and loving freind,
to my power,

Des: 27. JAMES SHERLEY.[8]

[1] The five were John Pocock, John Beauchamp, Robert Keayne, Edward Bass and James Sherley. See p. 5, *supra*. [2] "Mr. Allerton knoweth." *Letter Book*.

[3] "(As I am even ashamed to relate)." *Letter Book*.

[4] "be at." *Letter Book*. [5] "self." *Letter Book*.

[6] "And that for Jesus Christ his sake I acknowledge myself much obliged to you, and others with you, for your good counsel and loving respect to my kinsman; I pray you continue the same still and set it as on my score to requite when occasion is offered. My wife and I most kindly remember our loves unto you and Mrs. Bradford, desiring you to remember us in your prayers, for assuredly," etc. *Letter Book*.

[7] "And this I leave to your serious consideration, not questioning but you will approve yourselves faithful and honest before God and men." *Letter Book*.

[8] "The above letter was written on the reverse of page 154 of the original manu-

With this leter they sent a draught of a formall deputation to be hear sealed and sent back unto them, to authorise them as their agents, according to what is mentioned in the above said letter; and because some inconvenience grue therby afterward I shall here inserte it.[1]

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME greeting; Know yee that we, William Bradford, Gov[erno]r of Plimoth, in N. E. in America, Isaak Allerton, Myles Standish, William Brewster, and Ed: Winslow, of Plimoth aforesaid,[2] merchants, doe by these presents for us and in our names, make, substitute, and appointe James Sherley, Goldsmith, and John Beachamp, Salter, citizens of London, our true and lawfull agents, factors, substitutes, and assignes; as well to take and receive all shuch goods, wares, and marchandise what soever as to our said substitutes or either of them, or to the citie of London, or other place of the Relme of Engl: shall be sente, transported, or come from us or any of us, as allso to vend, sell, barter, or exchaing the said goods, wares, and marchandise so from time to time to be sent to shuch person or persons upon credite, or other wise in shuch maner as to our said agents and factors joyently, or to either of them severally shall seeme meete. And further we doe make and ordaine our said substitutes and assignes joyntly and severally for us, and to our uses, and accounts, to buy and consigne for and to us into New-Engl: aforesaid, shuch goods and marchandise to be provided here, and to be returned hence, as by our said

script. It is addressed to Governor Bradford, and may have been brought over by Allerton, on his return in the spring of 1627. . . . By comparing this copy of the letter with that preserved in Bradford's *Letter Book*, it will be seen that the author has omitted a few passages and abbreviated others, which is the case with other letters here cited, and sometimes to a much greater extent. It there bears date 1627; but is not its true date 1626? Sherley acknowledges at the commencement 'your letter of the 14th June last, by your and my loving friend Mr. Allerton.'" DEANE. It is unfortunate that the dates of these two letters should be in doubt, preventing one correcting the error, if any, of the other; but Bradford would hardly have placed a letter of December before one in November, had they been of the same year.

[1] This is in form and substance a general power of attorney, examples of which may be found in Lechford's *Note Book*.

[2] Bradford gave the names of only three additional partners — Howland, Alden and Prence (p. 29, *supra*).

assignes, or either of them, shall be thought fitt. And to recover, receive, and demand for us and in our names all shuch debtes and sumes of money, as now are or hereafter shall be due, incidente, accruing or belonging to us, or any of us, by any wayes or means; and to acquite, discharge, or compound for any debte or sume of money, which now or hereafter shall be due or oweing by any person or persons to us, or any of us. And generally for us and in our names to doe, performe, and execute every acte and thing which to our said assignes, or either of them, shall seeme meete to be done in or aboute the premissies, as fully and effectually, to all intents and purposses, as if we or any of us were in person presente. And whatsoever our said agents and factors joyntly or severally shall doe, or cause to be done, in or aboute the premisses, we will and doe, and every of us doth ratife, alow, and confirme, by these presents. In wittnes wherof we have here unto put our hands and seals. Dated 18. Nov[em]b[e]r, 1628.

This was accordingly confirmed by the above named, and ·4· more of the cheefe of them under their hands and seals, and delivered unto them. Also Mr. Allerton formerly had authoritie under their hands and seals for the transacting of the former bussines, and taking up of moneys, etc. which still he retained whilst he was imployed in these affaires; they mistrusting neither him nor any of their freinds faithfullnes, which made them more remisse in looking to shuch acts as had passed under their hands, as necessarie for the time; but letting them rune on to long unminded or recaled, it turned to their harme afterwards, as will appere in its place. [157]

Mr. Allerton having setled all things thus in a good and hopfull way, he made hast to returne in the first of the spring to be hear with their supply for trade, (for the fishermen with whom he came used to sett forth in winter and be here betimes.) He brought a reasonable supply of goods for the plantation,[1] and without those great

[1] The details of goods are given by Sherley (3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, 1. 200): Shoes and leather, £30; cloth, £40; Irish stockings and cloth of all sorts, £40; pitch, tar, ropes and twine, £5; knives, scissors and the piece of rowle, £18; rudge of divers sorts, £14; lead, shot and powder, £25; hatchets, hoes, axes, scythes, reap-hooks, shovels, spades, saws, files, nails, iron pots, drugs and spices, £60. Total, £232.



CHAMPLAIN'S MAP OF THE KENNEBEC RIVER

interests as before is noted; and brought an accounte of the beaver sould, and how the money was disposed for goods, and the paymente of other debtes, having paid all debts abroad to others, save to Mr. Sherley, Mr. Beachamp, and Mr. Andrews; from whom likwise he brought an accounte which to them all amounted not to above 400*li.* for which he had passed bonds. Allso he had payed the first paymente for the purchass, being due for this year, viz. 200*li.* and brought them the bonde for the same canselled; so as they now had no more foreine debtes but the abovesaid 400*li.* and odde pownds, and the rest of the yearly purchass monie.[1] Some other debtes they had in the cuntrie, but they were without any intrest, and they had wherwith to discharge them when they were due. To this pass the Lord had brought things for them. Also he brought them further notice that their freinds, the abovenamed, and some others that would joyne with them in the trade and purchass, did intend for to send over to Leyden, for a competente number of them, to be hear the next year without fayle, if the Lord pleased to blesse their journey. He allso brought them a patente for Kenebeck, but it was so straite and ill bounded, as they were faine to renew and inlarge it the next year, as allso that which they had at home, to their great charge, as will after appeare. Hithertoo Mr. Allerton did them good and faithfull service; and well had it been if he had so continued, or els they had now ceased for employing him any longer thus into England. But of this more afterwards.

Having procured a patente[2] (as is above said) for *Kenebeck*, they

[1] This foreign debt was stated on p. 28, *supra*, to be about £600, so that Allerton must have disbursed some £200 in addition to the £200 dividend on the purchase money. It is possible to compile a fairly satisfactory statement of the finances of the company's operations in 1628 from the tables given by Sherley, 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, I. 199. The sales of furs produced £659. 16. 11; the expenditures were £773. 10. 0. This left a balance against the company of £113. 13. 1, which added to the sum due to the three lenders of the £200 (now £280) will make £393. 13. 1, or about £400. This assumes that the three vessels brought in their cargoes in 1628. P. 33, *supra*.

[2] No copy or summary of this patent is known to exist. It was superseded by the

now erected a house up above in the river in the most convenientest place for trade,[1] as they conceived, and furnished the same with commodities for the end, both winter and sommer, not only with corne, but also with shuch other commodities as the fishermen had traded with them, as coats, shirts, ruggs, and blankets, biskett, pease, prunes, etc.; and what they could not have out of England, they bought of the fishing ships, and so carried on their bussines as well as they could.

This year the Dutch sent againe unto them from their plantation, both kind leterss, and also diverse comodities, as sugar, linen cloth, Holand finer and courser stufes, etc. They came up with their barke to Manamete, to their house ther, in which came their Secretarie Rasier;[2] who was accompanied with a noyse of trumpeters, and

so-called Warwick charter, issued January 13, 1629–30. The clause in this latter document relating to the Kennebec is quoted by Bradford on p. 175, *infra*. In Sherley's account for 1628 are two items of expense for the patent: "To Mr. Viner about the patent, and spent thereabouts, £39. 15. 0; More since laid out by Mr. Hatherley, as in your account, for the patent, 7*s*." Thomas Viner was a goldsmith, like Sherley, and a successful negotiator with the court in later years. He may have been the intermediary, or Richard Vines, the agent of Sir Ferdinando Gorges at Winter Harbor in 1616, and, in 1630, the associate of John Oldham in the patent of lands on the west side of the Saco.

Sherley intimated that Sir Ferdinando Gorges was playing a double game in granting charters so freely as he did through the Council for New England. "I am persuaded Sir Ferdinando (how loving and friendly soever he seems to be) knows he can, nay, purposeth to overthrow, at his pleasure, all the patents he grants." Letter of March 19, 1629–30. *Letter Book*.

[1] At a place called Cushenoc, now Augusta.

[2] Rasiere's own account of this visit is given in *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 2 Ser., II. 350. He left New Netherland in the barque *Nassau*, late in September, 1627, and early in October reached Manomet. He returned to Manhattan with the letter of Bradford dated October 1, 1627, in which was said: "We desire your Honours that you would take into your wise and honourable considerations, that which we conceive may be a hindrance to this accordation, and may be a means of much future evil, if it be not prevented, namely, that you clear the title of your planting in these parts, which his Majesty hath, by patent, granted to divers his nobles and subjects of quality; least it be a bone of division in these stirring evil times, which God forbid: we persuade ourselves, that now may be easily and seasonably done, which will be harder

some other attendants; and desired that they would send a boat for him, for he could not travill so farr over land. So they sent a boat to Manonscussett,[1] and brought him to the plantation, with the cheefe of his company. And after some few days entertainmente, he returned to his barke, and some of them wente with him, and bought sundry of his goods; after which begining thus made, they sente often times to the same place, and had entercourse togeather for diverce years; and amongst other comodities, they vended [158] much tobaco[2] for linen cloath, stuffs, etc., which was a good benefite to the people, till the Virginians found out their plantation.[3] But that which turned most to their profite, in time, was an entrance

and with more difficulty obtained hereafter, and perhaps not without blows; so there may be assured peace and good correspondence on all parts, and ourselves more free and able to contract with your Honours." *Bradford Letter Book*, 55.

[1] Now called Scussett in Sandwich.

[2] The tobacco interests of Virginia presented difficult problems to the English authorities as the trade was then conducted. To encourage the planting and consumption of Virginia tobacco the importation of foreign, chiefly Spanish, tobacco into England was prohibited (1625), as was the cultivation of the plant in England or Ireland (1627). For more easily supervising the trade, American tobacco could be entered only at London, but this offered no hindrance to a trade from Virginia to other parts of the American coasts. As early as 1627 the tendency for Virginia planters to raise little else than tobacco called out rebukes and regulations from England, but the well meant advice remained unheeded while there was more profit to be got from tobacco than from other agricultural products.

[3] The trade between Virginia and the settlement at New Plymouth is said to have been opened by Henry Fleet, who had been captured by the Indians on the Potomac in 1623, and had lived among them for nearly four years. Finding his experience useful in selecting goods for trading with the Indians, some merchants of London sought to use his knowledge of the habits and language of the natives, and sent him out, in 1627, in command of the *Paramour*, a vessel of one hundred tons. Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 52. Considering the frequent passage of ships from Cape Cod to Virginia from the first year of the Plymouth plantation, it is very unlikely that trade possibilities had been entirely overlooked. The suggestion is not without interest as pointing to a regular trade in tobacco from about the year 1628. In that year the Virginia legislature sought to induce the King to enter into an engagement to purchase yearly half a million pounds of tobacco, and to permit the balance to be shipped to New England or the West Indies, on payment of the usual duties. The total yearly product in tobacco of the colony was as yet less than half a million pounds.

into the trade of Wampampeake; for they now bought aboute 50*li.* worth of it of them;[1] and they tould them how vendable it was at their forte Orania;[2] and did perswade them they would find it so at Kenebeck; and so it came to pass in time, though at first it stuck, and it was ·2· years before they could put of this small quantity, till the inland people knew of it; and afterwards they could scarce ever gett enough for them, for many years togeather. And so this, with their other provissions, cutt of they [their] trade quite from the fisher-men, and in great part from other of the stragling planters. And strange it was to see the great allteration it made in a few years amonge the Indeans them selves; for all the Indeans of these parts, and the Massachussets, had none or very litle of it,[3] but the sachems and some spetiall persons that wore a litle of it for ornamente. Only it was made and kepte amonge the Nariganssets, and Pequents, which grew rich and potent by it, and these people were poore and begerly, and had no use of it. Neither did the English of this plantation, or any other in the land, till now that they had knowledg of it from the Dutch, so much as know what it was, much less that it was a commoditie of that worth and valew. But after it grue thus

[1] Rasiere's account of this transaction was as follows: he prevented the New Plymouth people from making their yearly journey after wampum by selling them fifty fathoms, "because the seeking after sewan by them is prejudicial to us, inasmuch as they would, by so doing, discover the trade in furs; which if they were to find out, it would be a great trouble for us to maintain, for they already dare to threaten that if we will not leave off dealing with that people, [*i.e.* the Narragansett and Wampanoag Indians], they will be obliged to use other means; if they do that now, while they are yet ignorant how the case stands, what will they do when they do get a notion of it?" *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 2 Ser., II. 350. The Narragansetts were the most numerous, rich, and industrious of the Indians in the neighborhood of New Plymouth. They manufactured and traded wampumpeage, stone pipes, and pots, which they exchanged for English goods and, in turn, trucked with the more remote tribes at a handsome profit. Wood described them as unwarlike, and as called by the Pequots "womenlike-men." *New Englands Prospect*, *53.

[2] Fort Orange, now Albany. Brodhead, *History of New York*, 152 *n*, 583.

[3] Peag. — BRADFORD. The word is written in the margin against these lines and without specific reference.

to be a comoditie in these parts, these Indeans fell into it allso, and to learne how to make it; for the Narigansets doe geather the shells of which they make it from their shores. And it hath now continued a current comoditie aboute this ·20· years, and it may prove a drugg in time.[1] In the mean time it makes the Indeans of these parts rich and power full and also prowd therby; and fills them with peeces, powder, and shote, which no laws can restraine, by reason of the bassnes of sundry unworthy persons, both English, Dutch, and French, which may turne to the ruine of many. Hithertoo the Indeans of these parts had no peeces nor other armes but their bowes and arrowes, nor of many years after; nether durst they scarce handle a gune, so much were they affraid of them; and the very sight of one (though out of kilter) was a terrour unto them. But those Indeans to the east parts, which had commerce with the French, got

[1] The Dutch readily recognized the importance attached by the Indians to wampumpeage, and employed it in trade, and in payment for injuries, just as the natives used it as an ornament to their persons, a medium of trade, ransom, tribute or a means of distinguishing rich from poor. Its use was not general, and even a knowledge of it appears to have been confined to a few tribes, and those situated near the sea. The ancient Iroquois remains show no traces of its use, and the belts among the Onondagas were of quite recent origin. It has been stated that before the coming of the European the use of the shell bead or wampum as money was not known to the Indians. Carr, in 2 *Am. Antiquarian Soc.*, xi. 261. The great source of wampum was among the Narragansetts, Pequots, and natives of Long Island. Williams, *Key into the Language of America*, distinguishes between the white, *wompam*, and the black, *suckánhock*, the latter being dark-colored or purple. The black had twice the value of the white in exchange. The whites sought to counterfeit this currency, but with their best skill they could not deceive the Indians, and the process was too costly. Morton, *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 157. The *Venus mercenaria* and the *Pyrula carica* or *P. canaliculata* are believed to be the material from which wampumpeage was made.

Writing about 1645 Roger Williams says: "This one fathom of this their stringed money, now worth of the English but five shillings (sometimes more) some few yeeres since was worth nine, and sometimes ten shillings per Fathome: the fall is occasioned by the fall of Beaver in *England:* the Natives are very impatient, when for English commodities they pay so much more of their money, and not understanding the cause of it; and many say the English cheat and deceive them, though I have laboured to make them understand the reason of it." *A Key into the Language of America*, 174.

peces of them, and they in the end made a commone trade of it; and in time our English fisher-men, led with the like covetoussnes, followed their example, for their owne gaine; but upon complainte against them, it pleased the kings majestie to prohibite the same by a stricte proclaimation, commanding that no sorte of armes, or munition, should by any of his subjects be traded with them.[1]

Aboute some ·3· or ·4· years before this time, ther came over one Captaine Wolastone,[2] (a man of pretie parts,) and with him ·3· or ·4·

[1] That the Indians should become familiar with the use of firearms was only a question of time. The fur trade soon proved that the Indian was more profitable as a hunter than the European. Arrangements were made by which the traders would feed and clothe the Indian, instruct him in the use of a gun, and supply him with the weapon, that he might devote his time and attention to hunting. Such a policy soon passed beyond the control of the trader or planter, and the natives would resort to any means to obtain gun and powder. The trade existed early in the days of the Pilgrims, for the King's proclamation of November 6, 1622, spoke of the abuse of bartering to the savages swords, pikes, musquets, fowling pieces, match, powder, shot, and other warlike weapons, and teaching them the use thereof. See vol. I. p. 313. It was only a question of time when traders and fishermen would sell directly to the Indian, and English, Dutch and French interlopers would be a source of supply. The planters soon realized the dangers attending such a trade, and the increased skill of the native in the use of firearms. Writing in June, 1627, Bradford said: "Besides the spoiling of the trade this last year, our boat and men had like to have been cut off by the Indians, after the fishermen were gone, for the wrongs which they did them, in stealing their skins and other abuses offered them, both the last year and this; and besides they still continue to truck pieces, powder, and shot with them, which will be the overthrow of all, if it be not looked into." To *Ferdinando Gorges*, *Letter Book*. Bradford had Morton in his mind when framing this complaint. It appears that Morton's operations extended to the Kennebec region, and he boasted of his success in anticipating the Plymouth people, who "feared in time, (if they hindred not mine Host [Morton]), hee would hinder the benefit of their Beaver trade, as hee had done, (by meanes of this helpe,) in Kynyback river finely, ere they were awares; who, comming too late, were much dismaide to finde that mine Host his boate had gleaned away all before they came." *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 295.

[2] Morton says he came over in 1625. *New Englands Memoriall*, *68. Of this Captain Wollaston nothing is known, though his name survives in Wollaston, near Quincy. Brown (*Genesis of the United States*, II. 1053) conjectures that the Captain Wallaston who went with Ralegh to Guiana, in 1617, was the same who came to Massachusetts, though he has no proof of the identity. If it be the same his reputation is stained by

more of some eminencie, who brought with them a great many servants, with provissions and other impl[e]ments for to begine a plantation; and pitched them selves in a place within the Massachusets, which they called, after their captains name, Mount-Wollaston.[1] Amongst whom was one Mr. Morton,[2] who, it should seeme, had some small adventure (of his owne or other mens) amongst them;

his abandonment of Ralegh at Granada, along with Whitney, a captain in whom Ralegh placed great confidence. The two runaways, with a third, named Collins, are next heard of at Newfoundland, when they captured two men of war, one of France and the other of Flanders. They then sailed for Malaga with a cargo of fish. Gardiner, *Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage*, I. 132 *n.* Captain John Smith met in 1615 a Captain Wolliston as the lieutenant of "one captain Barra, an English pirate, in a small ship, with some twelve pieces of ordnance, about thirty men and near all starved." *Description of New England*, 73. The passage from trade or fishing to piracy was easy in that day, and Ralegh's crews were of such material as to make it by no means improbable that the Wolliston on a pirate ship was the same as Wallaston, a captain under Ralegh. Adams points out in *New English Canaan*, I *n*, the name is a rare one and yet is borne by islands in both the Arctic and the Antarctic oceans, but the family to which it belonged seems to have originated in an inland English county. Lower, *Patronymica Britannica.* William Wollaston the moral philosopher came of an old Staffordshire family of the name. There was a Wollaston Manor in Maryland before 1654. *Archives of Maryland*, X. 360.

No evidence exists that Wollaston, or any of his partners, held a patent from any authority in England for making a settlement in New England. Palfrey supposes such a patent was issued, and Morton gave as a reason for his last return to Massachusetts, that he wished to look over the land which had been patented to him many years before. Clarendon Papers, *New York Hist. Coll.*, 1869, 40. Wollaston and his company would therefore be called interlopers, or irregular traders.

[1] As some persons still occupied the Weston lands at Wessagusset, Wollaston and his party went about two miles to the north, and established themselves at Passonagessit, on the other side of the Monotoquit, and within the limits of the present city of Quincy. The place is still known as Mount Wollaston. Adams, in *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 9.

[2] What is known of Thomas Morton is given in the introduction to Adams' edition of the *New English Canaan*, and in his *Three Episodes*, 162. He claimed to have come to New England in June, 1622, "with 30 servants, and provisions of all sorts fit for a plantation." This would make him one of the Weston colony, coming in the *Charity*, but on this point no further evidence can be found. *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 123, 179.

but had litle respecte [159] amongst them, and was sleghted by the meanest servants. Haveing continued ther some time, and not finding things to answer their expectations, nor profite to arise as they looked for, Captaine Wollaston takes a great part of the sarvants, and transports them to Virginia, wher he puts them of at good rates, selling their time to other men; and writes back to one Mr. Rassdall, one of his cheefe partners, and accounted their marchant,[1] to bring another parte of them to Verginia likewise, intending to put them of ther as he had done the rest. And he, with the consente of the said Rasdall, appoynted one Fitcher to be his Liuetenante, and governe the remaines of the plantation, till he or Rasdall returned to take further order theraboute. But this Morton abovesaid, haveing more craft then honestie, (who had been a kind of petie-fogger, of Furneffells Inne,) [2] in the others absence, watches an oppertunitie, (and commons being but hard amongst them), and gott some strong drinck and other junkats, and made them a feast; and after they were merie, he begane to tell them, he would give them good counsell. You see (saith he) that many of your fellows are carried to Virginia; and if you stay till this Rasdall returne, you will also be carried away and sould for slaves with the rest.[3] Therfore I

[1] Merchant probably means supercargo in this reference.

[2] Morton speaks of himself as of "Cliffords Inne gent." There were ten of the lesser houses or innes, which were called Inns of the Chancery. Both Clifford's and Furnival's Inns were of the Chancery, belonging to the Inner Temple, and subordinate to the Inns of Court. The Inns of Chancery, though possessing property, hall, chambers, etc., perform no public functions, like the Inns of Court.

[3] The demand for "servants" in Virginia proved so strong as to offer the best market for the unexpired terms of service among the uncertain settlements elsewhere. The cultivation of tobacco required much labor, and the land obtainable for bringing a servant into the colony was another cause of the movement. Yet for many years the treatment given to these indentured servants, who had sold their services for a period of four to seven years in order to obtain transportation to Virginia, was harsh and even scandalously bad. The terms of an indenture of 1628, for serving four years in Virginia, are given in Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 57 *n*. "Sustenance, meat, drink, apparel and other necessaries for his livelihood and sustenance" during the term of service formed an essential part of this contract, but there existed no means of

would advise you to thruste out this Lieutenant Fitcher; and I, having a parte in the plantation, will receive you as my partners and consociates; so may you be free from service, and we will converse, trade, plante, and live togeather as equalls, and supporte and protecte one another, or to like effecte. This counsell was easily received; so they tooke oppertunitie, and thrust Leuetenante Fitcher out a dores, and would suffer him to come no more amongst them, but forct him to seeke bread to eate, and other releefe from his neigbours, till he could gett passages for England. After this they fell to great licenciousnes, and led a dissolute life, powering out them selves into all profanenes. And Morton became lord of misrule,[1] and maintained (as it were) a schoole of Athisme. And after they had gott some goods into their hands, and gott much by trading with the Indeans, they spent it as vainly, in quaffing and drinking both wine and strong waters in great exsess, and, as some reported, 10*lis.* worth in a morning. They allso set up a May-pole, drinking and dancing aboute it many days togeather, inviting the Indean women, for their consorts, dancing and frisking togither, (like so many fairies, or furies rather,) and worse practises. As if they had anew revived and celebrated the feasts of the Roman Goddes Flora, or the beasly practieses of the madd Bacchinalians.[2] Morton lik-

assuring the fulfilment of the contract. Many such servants came to New Plymouth, and could buy out their service or, on the expiration of their time, could receive land, if stipulated in the contract, or become householders and freemen.

[1] "First in the feaste of Christmas, there was in the kinges house, wheresoeuer hee was lodged, a Lord of Misrule, or Maister of merry disports, and the like had yee in the house of euery noble man, of honor, or good worshippe, were he spirituall or temporall. Amongst the which the Mayor of London, and eyther of the shiriffes had their seuerall Lordes of Misrule, euer contending without quarrell or offence, who should make the rarest pastimes to delight the Beholders. These Lordes beginning their rule on Alhollon Eue, continued the same till the morrow after the Feast of the Purification, commonlie called Candlemas day: In all which space there were fine and subtle disguisinges, Maskes and Mummeries, with playing at Cardes for Counters, Nayles and pointes in euery house, more for pastimes then for gaine." Stow, *Survey of London* (Kingsford), I. 97.

[2] Mayday and its festivities have been traced to the Roman feast of Flora, which

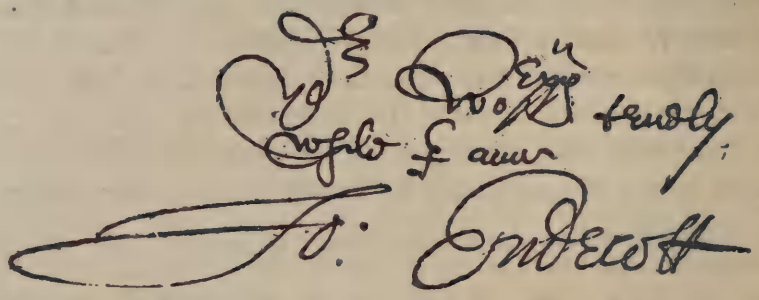
wise (to shew his poetrie) composed sundry rimes and verses, some tending to lasciviousnes, and others to the detraction and scandall of some persons, which he affixed to this idle or idoll May-polle.[1] They chainged allso the name of their place, and in stead of calling it Mounte Wollaston, they call it Merie[160]mounte,[2] as if this joylity would have lasted ever. But this continued not long, for after Morton was sent for England, (as folows to be declared,) shortly after came over that worthy gentleman, Mr. John Indecott, who brought over a patent under the broad seall, for the govermente

began on April 28, and lasted some days. Stow, in his *Survey of London* (1603), thus summarizes the festivities of the day: "I find also that, in the moneth of May, the citizens of London . . . had their seuerall mayings, and did fetch in Maypoles, with diuerse warlike shewes, with good Archers, Morice dauncers, and other deuices, for pastime all the day long, and towards the Euening they had stage playes, and Bonefiers in the streetes." To the Puritan the festival was obnoxious for its pagan origin and its worldly practices. After describing the great veneration and devotion shown by the crowd in bringing from the woods their "chiefest jewell," the Maypole, Stubbes (*Anatomy of Abuses*) continues: "And then fall they to banquet and feast, to leape and daunce about it, as the Heathen people did at the dedication of their Idolles, whereof this is a perfect patterne, or rather the thyng itself." The day had long ceased to be a day of simple and innocent enjoyments, and offered considerable license to those who took part in the games. Adams, in the introduction to Morton, *New English Canaan*, 18. In April, 1644, Parliament ordered all Maypoles to be taken down and removed, and the sports and merriments went with the poles. Under Charles II Mayday festivities were renewed and encouraged. Morton's Maypole was not the first erected in New England. 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IV. 478.

[1] Specimens of Morton's attempts at versification are to be found in his *New English Canaan*. These may at the time have contained allusions, the significance of which cannot now be traced. References to the somewhat rigid life led at New Plymouth and characteristics of individuals there living may have been apparent at the time, and thus have drawn down upon the author the hostility of the authorities.

[2] "The inhabitants of Pasonagessit having translated the name of their habitation from that ancient Salvage name to Ma-re-Mount . . . the precise seperatists that lived at New Plimmouth stood at defiance with the place, naming it Mount Dagon; threatning to make it a woefull mount and not a merry mount." Morton, *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 276, 278. Trumbull was unable to give the meaning of Passonagessit, but suggested that it stood for *Pasco-naig-és-it*, or "near the little point," which answers well to the topographical situation of Mount Wollaston. Adams, in *New English Canaan*, 14 *n.*

of the Massachusets,[1] who visiting those parts caused that Maypolle to be cutt downe, and rebuked them for their profannes, and admonished them to looke ther should be better walking; so they



[1] White and some others of the Dorchester Company were still desirous of establishing a plantation in New England, and proposed to send over to Conant and his associates (vol. I. p. 418), "twelve Kine and Buls more." "And conferring casually with some *Gentlemen* of *London*, moved them to adde vnto them as many more. By which occasion the businesse came to agitation afresh in *London*, and being at first disapproved by some and disliked by others, by argument and disputation it grew to be more vulgar. In so much, that some men shewing some good affection to the worke, and offering the helpe of their purses, if fit men might be procured to goe over; Enquiry was made whither any would be willing to engage their persons in the Voyage: by this enquiry it fell out that among others they lighted at last on Master *Endecott*, a man well knowne to divers persons of good note: who manifested much willingnesse to accept of the offer as soone as it was tendered: which gaue great encouragement to such as were upon the point of resolution to set on this worke, of erecting a new *Colony* upon the old foundation. Hereupon divers persons having subscribed for the raising of a reasonable Summe of Mony: A Patent was granted with large encouragements every way by his most *Excellent Majestie*. Master *Endecott* was sent over Governour assisted with a few men, and arriving in safety there, in *September* 1628, and uniting his owne men with those which were formerly planted in the County, into one body, they made up in all not much above fiftie or sixtie persons." White, *The Planters Plea*, *75.

Endecott did not bring over the patent under the broad seal. That was not issued until March 4, 1628–29. It is printed in Hazard, *Historical Collections*, I. 239.

The grant of these charters was accomplished in a characteristic and loose manner. Robert Gorges, having died, his rights passed to his brother John, from whom Oldham and one John Dorrell now obtained a lease or grant of "all the lands within Mattachusetts Bay betweene Charles River and Abousett River." If Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in acceding to the patent to the Massachusetts Company, reserved the rights

now, or others, changed the name of their place againe, and called it Mounte-Dagon.[1]

Now to maintaine this riotous prodigallitie and profuse excess, Morton, thinking him selfe lawless, and hearing what gaine the French and fisher-men made by trading of peeces, powder, and shotte to the Indeans, he, as the head of this consortship, begane the practise of the same in these parts; and first he taught them how to use them, to charge, and discharge, and what proportion of powder to give the peece, according to the sise or bignes of the same; and what shotte to use for foule, and what for deare. And having thus instructed them, he imployed some of them to hunte and fowle

of his son Robert, his precaution proved of no service, for the Company obtained a royal confirmation of their patent and took possession before Gorges or Oldham could so much as specify their claim, much less establish it. The incident is of interest here as showing the ambition of Oldham. The history of the grant will be developed in Winthrop's *History*. A John Darrell came to New England in 1637, in the *Mary Ann*, from Great Yarmouth and desired to go to Salem. Nothing further is known of him.

Endecott sailed in the ship *Abigail*, Henry Gauden, master, from Weymouth, June 20, 1628, and arrived at Naumkeak, in September, bringing full instructions from the Massachusetts Bay Company to take possession of the territory covered by their patent and hold it against intruders. Especially was he to guard against the occupation by Oldham, under his patent from John Gorges, of any of the territory adjacent to Massachusetts Bay, as what is now Boston Bay was then designated. When Higginson wrote his relation of his voyage he described the situation thus: "When we came first to Naimkeck, now called Salem, we found about half a score houses built: and a fayre house newly built for the governour, and we found also abundance of corne planted by them, excellent good and well liking. We brought with us about 200 passengers and planters more, which now by common consent of all the ould planters are all now combyned together into one body politique under the same governor. There are with us in all ould and new planters 300, whereof 200 are settled at Naimkecke, now called Salem, and the rest plant themselves at Massachusets bay, being to build a towne there called Charleston or Charlestowne." *Hutchinson Papers*, I. *47.

[1] Dagon, the national god of the Philistines, usually represented with the face and arms of a man and the tail of a fish. "The fish-like form was a natural emblem of fruitfulness, and as such was likely to be adopted by seafaring tribes in the representation of their gods." Bradford may have had this appositeness of the mention in his mind, but more likely recalled that it was at the feast of Dagon that Samson pulled down the pillars of his temple at Gaza. *Judges*, XVI.

for him, so as they became farr more active in that imploymente then any of the English, by reason of ther swiftnes of foote, and nimblenes of body, being also quicksighted, and by continuall exercise well knowing the hants of all sorts of game. So as when they saw the execution that a peece would doe, and the benefite that might come by the same, they became madd, as it were, after them, and would not stick to give any prise they could attaine too for them; accounting their bowes and arrowes but bables in comparison of them.[1]

And here I may take occasion to bewaile the mischefe that this wicked man began in these parts, and which since base covetousnes prevailing in men that should know better, hathe now at length gott the upper hand, and made this thing commone, notwithstanding any laws to the contrary; so as the Indeans are full of peeces all over, both fouling peeces, muskets, pistols, etc. They have also their moulds to make shotte, of all sorts, as muskett bulletts, pistoll bullets, swan and gose shote, and of smaler sorts; yea, some have seen them have their scruplates to make scrupins them selves, when they wante them, with sundery other implements, wherwith they are ordinarily better fited and furnished then the English them selves. Yea, it is well knowne that they will have powder and shot,

[1] In June, 1628, Bradford could write to Gorges of the almost desperate state and condition of the place, fearing to be overrun and spoiled by the Indians, "who are already abundantly furnished with pieces, powder and shot, swords, rapiers and Jaflins; all which arms and munition is this year plentifully and publickly sold unto them, by our own countrymen; who, under the pretence of fishing, come a trading amongst them; yea, one of them [Morton] (as your Worships may further understand by our particular informations) hath for his part sold twenty or twenty-one pieces, and one hundred weight of powder, by which you may conceive of the rest; for we hear the savages have above sixty pieces amongst them; besides other arms; in a word there is now almost nothing vendible amongst them, but such munition, so they have spoiled the trade in all other things." *Letter Book*. The specific charge on which Morton was first sent to England was that "he furnished the Natives with peeces, powder and shot and taught them the use of them." Winslow, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, v. 133.

when the English want it, nor cannot gett it; and that in a time of warr or danger, as experience hath manifested, that when lead hath been scarce, and men for their owne defence would gladly have given a groat a li[pound], which is deare enoughe, yet hath it bene bought up and sent to other places, and sould to shuch as trade it with the Indeans, at ·12· pence the li.; and it is like they give ·3· or ·4· *s.* the pound, for they will have it at any rate. And these things have been done in the same times, when some of their neigbours and freinds are daly killed by the Indeans, or are in deanger therof, and live but at the Indeans mercie. [161] Yea, some (as they have aquainted them with all other things) have tould them how gunpowder is made, and all the materialls in it, and that they are to be had in their owne land; and I am confidente, could they attaine to make salt-peter, they would teach them to make powder. O the horiblenes of this vilanie! how many both Dutch and English have been latly slaine by those Indeans, thus furnished; and no remedie provided, nay, the evill more increased, and the blood of their brethren sould for gaine, as is to be feared; and in what danger all these colonies are in is too well known.[1] Oh! that princes and parlements would take some timly order to prevente this mischeefe, and at length to suppress it, by some exemplerie punishmente upon some of these gaine thirstie murderers, (for they deserve no better

[1] The situation in Manhattan offered no differences from that in Massachusetts Bay at the time Bradford was writing. "The moment they [the Indians] became accustomed to their use, they were eager to possess the firearms of Europe. No merchandise was so valuable to them. For a musket they would willingly give twenty beaver skins. For a pound of powder they were glad to barter the value of ten or twelve guilders. Knowing the impolicy of arming the savages, the West India Company, in wise sympathy with the English government, had declared contraband the trade in fire-arms; and had even forbidden the supply of munitions of war to the New Netherland Indians, under penalty of death. But the lust of large gains quickly overcame prudence. The extraordinary profits of the traffic early became generally known; and the colonists of Rensselaerswyck and 'free traders' from Holland soon bartered away to the Mohawks enough guns, and powder, and bullets for four hundred warriors." Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, 308.

title,) before their collonies in these parts be over throwne by these barbarous savages, thus armed with their owne weapons, by these evill instruments, and traytors to their neigbors and cuntrie.

But I have forgott my selfe, and have been to longe in this digression; but now to returne. This Morton having thus taught them the use of peeces, he sould them all he could spare; and he and his consorts detirmined to send for many out of England, and had by some of the ships sente for above a score. The which being knowne, and his neigbours meeting the Indeans in the woods armed with guns in this sorte, it was a terrour unto them, who lived straglingly, and were of no strenght in any place. And other places (though more remote) saw this mischeefe would quiclly spread over all, if not prevented. Besides, they saw they should keep no servants, for Morton would entertaine any, how vile soever, and all the scume of the countrie, or any discontents, would flock to him from all places, if this nest was not broken; and they should stand in more fear of their lives and goods (in short time) from this wicked and deboste crue, then from the salvages them selves.

So sundrie of the cheefe of the stragling plantations, meeting togither, agreed by mutuall consente to sollissite those of Plimoth (who were then of more strength then them all) to joyne with them, to prevente the further grouth of this mischeefe, and suppress Morton and his consorts before they grewe to further head and strength. Those that joyned in this action (and after contributed to the charge of sending him for England) were from Pascataway, Namkeake, Winisimett, Weesagascusett, Natasco, and other places wher any English were seated.[1] Those of Plimoth being thus sought too

[1] In his *Letter Book* Bradford gives the details of the assessed charges:

From Plymouth	£2. 10	Natascot	£1. 10
Naumkeak	1. 10	Mrs. Thomson	15
Pascataquack	2. 10	Mr. Blackston	12
Mr. Jeffrey and Mr. Burslem	2. 0	Edward Hilton	1. 0
			12. 7

Roger Conant and what he could hold of the Dorchester settlers on Cape Ann were

by their messengers and letters, and waying both their reasons, and the commone danger, were willing to afford them their help; though them selves had least cause of fear or hurte. So, to be short, they first resolved joyntly to write to him, and in a freindly and neigborly way to admonish him to forbear those courses, and sent a messenger with their letters to bring his answer. But he was so highe as he scorned all advise, and asked who had to doe with him; he had and would trade peeces with the Indeans in dispite of all, with many other scurillous termes full of disdaine. They sente to him a second time, and bad him be better advised, and more temperate in his termes, for the countrie could not beare the injure he did; it was against their comone saftie, and against the king's proclamation. He answerd in high terms as before, and that the kings proclaimation was no law; demanding what penaltie was upon it. It was answered, more then he could [162] bear, his majesties displeasure. But insolently he persisted, and said the king was dead and his displeasure with him, and many the like things; and threatened withall that if any came to molest him, let them looke to them selves, for he would prepare for them.[1] Upon which they saw ther was no way but to take him by force; and having so farr proceeded, now to

at Naumkeak; the Wessagusset settlement was represented by Jeffrey and Burslem; Oldham was at Natascot; Mrs. Thomson was the widow of David Thomson, who had come from Pascataqua to an island in Boston harbor, still known by his name; Blackstone was at Shawmut, and Hilton had settled at Cocheco, now Dover, N. H.

[1] Adams, in the introduction to Morton (p. 26), points out that Morton proved himself better versed in the law of England than those who admonished him. Lord Coke reporting a decision made by all the judges in 1610 stated, that "the King cannot create any offence, by his prohibition or proclamation, which was not an offence before, for that was to change the law, and to make an offence, which was not; for *ubi non est lex, ibi non est transgressio; ergo*, that which cannot be punished without proclamation cannot be punished with it." 12 Coke, p. 75. An earlier opinion is more to the point. "In the same term [1546] it was resolved by the two chief Justices, Chief Baron, and Baron Altham, upon conference betwixt the Lords of the Privy Council and them, that . . . the law of England is divided into three parts, common law, statute law and custom; but the King's Proclamation is none of them." 6 Coke *Reports*, 297 (London, 1826).

give over would make him farr more hautie and insolente. So they mutually resolved to proceed, and obtained of the Gov[erno]r of Plimoth to send Captaine Standish, and some other aide with him, to take Morton by force.[1] The which accordingly was done; but they found him to stand stifly in his defence, having made fast his dors, armed his consorts, set diverse dishes of powder and bullets ready on the table; and if they had not been over armed with drinke,



ARMS AND ARMOR, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

more hurt might have been done. They sommaned him to yeeld, but he kept his house, and they could gett nothing but scofes and scorns from him; but at length, fearing they would doe some violence to the house, he and some of his crue came out, but not to yeeld, but to shoote; but they were so steeld with drinke as their peeces were to heavie for them; him selfe with a carbine (over

[1] This attack on Morton's house must have been made early in June, as letters to England on his misconduct bore date June 9. Morton claims that he was first discovered and arrested at Wessagusset, where he happened to be found, and escaping, made his way to Mount Wollaston, where he put his house in a posture of defence.

charged and allmost halfe fild with powder and shote, as was after found) had thought to have shot Captaine Standish; but he stept to him, and put by his peece, and tooke him. Neither was ther any hurte done to any of either side, save that one was so drunke that he rane his owne nose upon the pointe of a sword that one held before him as he entred the house; but he lost but a litle of his hott blood. Morton they brought away to Plimoth,[1] wher he was kepte, till a ship went from the Ile of Shols for England,[2] with which he was sente to the Counsell of New-England; and letters writen to give them information of his course and cariage; [3] and also one was sent at their commone charge to informe their Ho[no]rs more perticulerly, and to prosecute against him. But he foold of the messenger,[4] after he was gone from hence, and though he wente for England, yet nothing was done to him, not so much as rebukte, for ought was heard; but returned the nexte year.[5] Some of the worst of the company were disperst, and some

[1] Standish, according to Morton, threatened him with his pistol, but carried him to Plymouth, and after determining what should be done, sent him to an island "in the northern parts," and "without gunne, powther, or shot or dogge or so much as a knife to get any thinge to feede upon, or any other cloathes to shelter him with at winter then a thinne suite which hee had one at that time." He remained there a month, supplied with liquor by the Indians, until a fishing vessel from Plymouth took him and Oldham to that port. *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 289, 296.

[2] Morton states that when he was brought to the ships to be sent away "no man durst be so foolhardy as to undertake to carry him."

[3] These letters are printed in Bradford's *Letter Book*, 62.

[4] John Oldham.

[5] Morton's own account of the business represents Oldham as making his best endeavors to secure an instrument against him, inquiring in London for a skillful man who could accomplish the feat, and sparing no expense to accomplish his purpose, but without avail. "Noe man being able to taxe him of any thinge," Morton was released. It was more essential to Oldham that he should stand well with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, than labor to secure the doubtful imprisonment of such a man as Morton. Allerton may have found Morton useful in the negotiations with the London company or with the Company of the Massachusetts Bay, for he permitted Morton to return with him, to the great scandal of the community.

Adams, in the introduction to Morton (p. 31), calls attention to the fact that Mor-

of the more modest kepte the house till he should be heard from. But I have been too long aboute so unworthy a person, and bad a cause.[1]

This year Mr. Allerton brought over a yonge man for a minister to the people hear, wheather upon his owne head, or at the motion of some freinds ther, I well know not, but it was without the churches sending; for they had bene so bitten by Mr. Lyford, as they desired to know the person well whom they should invite amongst them. His name was Mr. Rogers; but they perceived, upon some triall, that he was crased in his braine; so they were faine to be at further charge to send him back againe the nexte year, and loose all the charge that was expended in his hither bringing, which was not smalle by Mr. Allerton's accounte, in provissions, aparell, bedding, etc.[2] After his returne he grue quite distracted, and Mr. Allerton was much blamed that he would bring shuch a man over, they having charge enough otherwise.

Mr. Allerton, in the years before, had brought over some small

ton's vessel in its passage to England must have passed the ship bearing Endecott and his party, with a grant or patent that covered Mount Wollaston. He suggests that the suppression of the Merry Mount circle may have been determined upon by the Company in England.

[1] Bradford in his *Letter Book* says the proceedings against Morton "cost us a great deal more, and yet to little effect, as the event showeth." Commenting upon this Adams says: "This, however, was not so. On the contrary, it is not often that an act of government repression produces effects equally decisive. The nuisance was abated and the danger dispelled; the fact that there was a power on the coast, ready to assert itself in the work of maintaining order, was established and had to be recognized; and, finally, a wholly unscrupulous competitor was driven out of trade. These results were well worth all that Morton's arrest cost, and much more." Introduction to *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 37.

[2] "To so much paid for Mr. Rogers' passage, 20*s.* his diet 11 weeks at 4*s.* 8*d.* 3. 11. 4

"Paid for Constant Sother's passage, 20*s.* and diet 11 weeks at 4*s.* 8*d.* 3. 11. 4" The two items are taken from Sherley's accounts in 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, I. 199. No other mention of Souther is found until the list of freemen of 1637, where it is given Constance Southerne.

quan[ti]tie of goods, upon his owne perticuler, and sould them for his owne private benefite; which was more then any man had yet hithertoo attempted. But because he had other wise done them good service, and also he sould them among the people at the plantation, by which their wants were supplied, and he aledged it was the [163] love of Mr. Sherley and some other freinds that would needs trust him with some goods, conceiveing it might doe him some good, and none hurte, it was not much lookt at, but past over. But this year he brought over a greater quantitie, and they were so intermixte with the goods of the generall, as they knew not which were theirs, and which was his, being pact up together; so as they well saw that, if any casualty had beefalne at sea, he might have laid the whole on them, if he would; for ther was no distinction. Allso what was most vendible, and would yeeld presente pay, usualy that was his; and he now begane allso to sell abroad to others of forine places, which, considering their commone course, they began to dislike. Yet because love thinkes no evill, nor is susspitious, they tooke his faire words for excuse, and resolved to send him againe this year for England; considering how well he had done the former bussines, and what good acceptation he had with their freinds ther; as also seeing sundry of their freinds from Leyden were sente for, which would or might be much furthered by his means. Againe, seeing the patente for Kenebeck must be inlarged, by reason of the former mistakes in the bounding of it, and it was conceived, in a maner, the same charge would serve to inlarge this at home with it, and he that had begane the former the last year would be the fittest to effecte this; so they gave him instructions and *sente him for England this year againe*. And in his instructions bound him to bring over no goods on their accounte, but 50 *li.* in hose and shoes, and some linen cloth, (as they were bound by covenante when they tooke the trade;) also some trading goods to shuch a value; and in no case to exseed his instructions, nor rune them into any further charge; he well knowing how their state stood. Also that he should

so provide that their trading goods came over betimes, and what so ever was sent on their accounte should be pact up by it selfe, marked with their marke, and no other goods to be mixed with theirs. For so he prayed them to give him shuch instructions as they saw good, and he would folow them, to prevente any jellocie or farther offence, upon the former forementioned dislikes. And thus they conceived they had well provided for all things.[1]

[1] "New Plymouth lies in a large bay to the north of Cape Cod or Mallabaer, east and west from the said [north] point of the cape, which can be easily seen in clear weather. Directly before the commenced town lies a sand bank, about twenty places [paces?] broad, whereon the sea breaks violently with an easterly and north-easterly wind. On the north side there lies a small island [Clark's] where one must run close along, in order to come before the town; then the ships run behind that bank and lie in a very good road-stead. . . . New Plymouth lies on the slope of a hill stretching east towards the sea-coast, with a broad street about a cannon shot of 800 [paces] long, leading down the hill; with a street crossing in the middle, northwards to the rivulet and southwards to the land. The houses are constructed of hewn planks, with gardens also enclosed behind and at the sides with hewn planks, so that their houses and court yards are arranged in very good order, with a stockade against a sudden attack; and at the ends of the streets there are three wooden gates. In the centre on the cross street, stands the Governor's house, before which is a square enclosure upon which four pedereros [a piece of ordnance] are mounted, so as to flank along the streets. Upon the hill they have a large square house, with a flat roof, made of thick sawn plank, stayed with oak beams, upon the top of which they have six cannons, which shoot iron balls of four and five pounds, and command the surrounding country. The lower part they use for their church, where they preach on Sundays, and the usual holidays. They assemble by beat of drum, each with his musket or firelock, in front of the captain's door; they have their cloaks on, and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant without beat of drum. Behind comes the Governor, in a long robe; beside him, on the right hand, comes the preacher with his cloak on, and on the left hand the captain with his side arms, and cloak on, and with a small cane in his hand. And so they march in good order, and each sets his arms down near him. Thus they are constantly on their guard night and day.

"Their government is after the English form. The Governor has his Council, which is chosen every year by the entire community, by election or prolongation of term. In inheritances they place all the children in one degree, only the eldest son has an acknowledgment for his seniority of birth. They have made stringent laws and ordinances upon the subject of fornication and adultery, which laws they maintain and enforce very strictly indeed, even among the tribes which live amongst them.

They speak very angrily when they hear from the savages that we should live so barbarously in these respects, and without punishment. Their farms are not so good as ours, because they are more stony, and consequently not so suitable for the plough. They apportion the land according as each has means to contribute to the Eighteen Thousand Guilders which they have promised to those who had sent them out; whereby they have their freedom without rendering an account to any one; only if the King should choose to send a Governor General they would be obliged to acknowledge him as sovereign chief. The maize seed which they do not require for their own use is delivered over to the Governor, at three guilders the bushel, who in his turn sends it in sloops to the north for the trade in skins among the savages; they reckon one bushel of maize against one pound of beaver's skin; in the first place, a division is made, according to what each has contributed, and they are credited for the amount in the account of what each has to contribute yearly towards the reduction of his obligation. Then with the remainder they purchase what next they require, and which the Governor takes care to provide every year. They have better means of living than ourselves, because they have the fish so abundant before their doors. There are also many birds, such as geese, herons, and cranes, and other small-legged birds, which are in great abundance there in the winter.

"The tribes in their neighborhood have all the same customs as already above described, only they are better conducted than ours, because the English give them the example of better ordinances and a better life; and who also, to a certain degree, give them laws, by means of the respect they from the very first have established amongst them." Rasiere, *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 2 Ser., II. 351.

Anno Dom: ·1629·

MR. ALLERTON safly ariveing in England, and delivering his leters to their freinds their, and aquainting them with his instructions, found good acceptation with them, and they were very forward and willing to joyne with them in the partnership of trade, and in the charge to send over the *Leyden people; a company wherof were allready come out of Holand, and prepared to come over, and so were sent away before Mr. Allerton could be ready to come. They had passage with the ships that came to Salem, that brought over many godly persons to begine the plantations and churches of Christ ther, and in the Bay of the Massachussets;*[1]

[1] The Company of the Massachusetts Bay sent out this year five ships, the *Talbot*, the *George*, the *Lyon's Whelp*, the *Four Sisters* and the *Mayflower*. This represented the most extensive sending of planters, provisions, cattle and munitions yet undertaken. One of the passengers on the *Talbot*, Rev. Fran. Higginson, wrote an account of the ships and voyage, which will be found in the *Hutchinson Papers*, *32. He also prepared an account of New England which was printed in England in three distinct editions in 1630, with the title *New-England's Plantation.*

Smith was enthusiastic on this voyage, wishing to "doe all men right so neere as I can in these new beginnings, which hereafter perhaps may bee in better request than a forest of nine dayes pamphlets. In the yeare 1629, about March, six good ships are gone with 350. men, women, and children, people possessing themselves of good ranke, zeale, meanes and quality: also 150. head of cattell, as horse, mares, and neat beasts; 41 goats, some conies, with all provision for houshold and apparell; six peeces of great Ordnance for a Fort, with Muskets, Pikes, Corslets, Drums and Colours, with all provisions necessary for the good of man." They arrived "for the most part exceeding well, their cattell and all things else prospering exceedingly, farre beyond their expectation."

Writing in 1631, he compared the Salem settlers favorably to those of Virginia. "By this you may perceive somewhat, what unexpected inconveniences are incident to a plantation, especially in such a multitude of voluntary contributers, superfluity of officers, and unexperienced Commissioners. But it is not so, as yet, with those for *New-England;* for they will neither beleeve nor use such officers, in that they are

so their long stay and keeping back [164] was recompensed by the Lord to ther freinds here with a duble blessing, in that they not only injoyed them now beyond ther late expectation, (when all their hopes seemed to be cutt of,) but, with them, many more godly freinds and Christian breethren, as the begining of a larger harvest unto the Lord, in the increase of his churches and people in these parts, to the admiration of many, and allmost wonder of the world; that of so small beginings so great things should insue, as time after manifested; and that here should be a resting place for so many of the Lords people, when so sharp a scourge came upon their owne nation.[1] But it was the Lords doing, and it ought to be marvellous in our eyes.[2]

overseers of their owne estates, and so well bred in labour and good husbandry as any in *England*." *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, *8, 24.

John White says that the good reports of the country sent by Endecott "gave such encouragement to the worke, that more *Aduenturers* joyning with the first *Vndertakers*, and all engaging themselues more deepely for the prosecution of the Designe; they sent over the next yeare [1629] about three hundred persons more, most seruants with a conuenient proportion of rother Beasts, to the number of sixty or seventy or there about and some Mares and Horses, of which the Kine came safe for the most part; but the greater part of the Horses dyed, so that there remained not above twelue or fourteen alive." *The Planters Plea*, *76.

[1] In July, 1628, the King made some ecclesiastical promotions, of which the most far-reaching in consequences was the appointment of Laud to the See of London. This appointment, and those which followed, were indicative of a policy in pursuance of which Puritan influences were to be excluded from the established church. Before the end of the year the new Bishop had induced the King to issue a declaration, to be prefixed to the articles printed in a new edition of the prayer-book, making them the standard of faith and prohibiting controversial preaching. Though opposed by Parliament, the dissolution of that body in March, 1629, and the fact of no new Parliament being called for eleven years, gave Laud full control of the situation. Outward conformity must be enforced as the only way to unity of spirit, and this policy he pursued relentlessly, becoming as Bradford says, a "scourge" to the nonconformists of every description.

[2] While in England Allerton produced an effect upon the friends of the Winthrop migration which may not have been intended. His words gave the impression that the Bay was not so well situated for settlement as other parts of the country, and for example, as Hudson River. Humfrey wrote to Winthrop, December 12, 1630, suggest-

But I shall hear inserte some of their freinds letters, which doe best expresse their owne minds in these thir proceedings.

A leter of Mr. Sherleys to the Gov[erno]r.

May 25, 1629.[1]

Sir: etc. *Here are many of your and our freinds from Leyden* coming over, who, though for the most parte be but a weak company, yet herein, is a good parte of that end obtained which was aimed at, and which hath been so strongly opposed by some of our former adventurers. But God hath his working in these things, which man cannot frustrate. With them we have allso sent some servants in the ship called the Talbut, that wente hence lately; but these come in the *Mayflower*. Mr. Beachamp and my selfe, with Mr. Andrews and Mr. Hatherly, are, with your love and liking, joyned partners with you, &c. Your deputation we have received, and the goods have been taken up and sould by your freind and agente, Mr. Allerton, my selfe having bine nere·3· months in Holland, at Amsterdam and other parts in the Low-Countries.[2] I see further the agreemente you have made with the generallitie, in which I cannot understand but you have done very well, both for them and you, and also for your freinds at Leyden. Mr. Beachamp, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Hatherley,[3] and my selfe, doe so like and

ing a removal to a more southern part, and cited Allerton on the Hudson, "which as Mr. Allerton affirmes meetes with Canada"; and Downing, writing four days earlier, advanced some of the same arguments for removal, and added: "If yt be trew that Mr. Allerton reports of Hudson's river, there is noe place comparable to yt for a plantac̃on, and t'will quitt cost for you to remove thither, though all be lost in the place where you are, for he sayth that Hudsons river goes into Canada and those 2 make New England an Iland, if this be trew yts like they meet in the great lake [Iroquois], and soe may Merrymack." 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 8, 38. Allerton held close communication with some deeply interested in the Bay plantation, and knew what had been done towards the settlement of Massachusetts Bay.

[1] 1629, May 25. The first letter concerning the former company of Leyden people. — Prince in *Bradford* MS.

[2] At this point there is a heavy bracket [inserted, and, in the margin, the word "letter." They probably mark the division between the two letters as indicated by the two notes of Prince.

[3] It is difficult, if not impossible, to unravel the innermost history of the commercial

approve of it, as we are will[ing] to joyne with you, and, God directing and inabling us, will be assisting and helpfull to you, the best that possiblie we can. Nay, had you not taken this course, I doe not see how you should accomplish *the end you first aimed at, and some others indevoured these years past.* We know it must keep us from the profite, which otherwise by the blessing of God and your indea[v]ours, might be gained; for most of *those that came in may*, and *these now sente*, though I hope honest and good people, yet not like to be helpfull to raise profite, but rather, ney, certaine must, some while, be chargable to you and us; at which it is lickly, had not this wise and discreete course been taken, many of your generalitie would have grudged.[1] Againe, you

experience of the Plantation. Timothy Hatherley appears for the first time as an important factor, one of four partners who enter into the trading project of the undertakers. He was one of the London Company, but was not one of the five members appointed in November, 1626, to receive the payments from New Plymouth under the agreement then made (p. 5, *supra*). He had come to New Plymouth in the *Anne*, but, discouraged by some losses in the burning of the houses in 1623 (vol. I. p. 333), he went back to England. In June, 1632, he arrived at Boston, in the *Charles*, but came again to New Plymouth. Although described as a merchant of London, he came from Barnstable, in Devonshire, where there is a parish of his name. As he did not become a freeman until 1637, his name is not found in the tax lists of earlier years. That Hatherley was a man of some substance, his subsequent career proved. A probable explanation of his partnership with Sherley, Beauchamp and Andrews is to be found in that Hatherley had been in the country, and was thus somewhat familiar with the conditions prevailing, though he was at New Plymouth at a time of distress. After his return, he could act as the immediate agent of the partners, which he seems to have been.

[1] Allerton so conducted himself in his dealings with the Leyden people as to awaken distrust. Sherley, who was associated with him, sought to smooth over the difficulty: "Here are many of your Leyden people now come over, and though I have ever had good thoughts of them, yet believe not every one, what they shall report of Mr. Allerton; he hath been a truly honest friend to you all, either there or here: And if any do (as I know some of them are apt to speak ill of him) believe them not. Indeed they have been unreasonably chargeable, yet grudge and are not contended: Verily their indiscreet carriage here hath so abated my affection towards them, as were Mrs. Robinson well over, I would not disburse one penny for the rest." Even Bradford could not wholly excuse the new-comers from blame: "This offence was given by some of them, which redounded to the prejudice of the whole; and indeed our friends which sent this latter company were to blame; for they now sent all the weak-

say well in your letter, and I make no doubte but you will performe it, that now being but a few, on whom the burthen must be, you will both menage it the beter, and sett too it more cherfully, haveing no discontents nor contradiction, but so lovingly to joyne togeither, in affection and counsell, as God no doubte will blesse and prosper your honest labours and indeavors. And therfore in all respects I doe not see but *you have done marvelously discreetly, and advisedly*, and no doubt but it gives all parties good contente; I mean that are reasonable and honest men, shuch as make conscience of giving the best satisfaction they be able for their debts, and that regard not their owne perticuler so much as the accomplishing of *that good end for which this bussines was first intended*, etc. Thus desiring the Lord to blese and prosper you, and all yours, and all our honest endeavors, I rest

Your unfained and ever loving freind,

JAMES SHERLEY.

Lon[don]: March 8. 1629 [30].[1]

est and poorest, without any of note and better discretion and government amongst them, contrary to our minds and advice; for they thought, if these were got over, the other might come when they would; but partly this distaste, but especially the great charge, which both these companies came to, coming so near together, put a bar in the way: for though this company were the fewer in number, yet their charge came to an 100 *li.* more. And notwithstanding this indiscretion, yet they were such as feared God, and were to us both welcome and useful, for the most part." *Letter Book*, 69.

[1] 1629–30, March 8th, the second letter concerning the latter company of Leyden people. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

The letter is printed in full in Bradford's Letter Book. "Mrs. Robinson [Bridget White], the widow of the Rev. John Robinson, undoubtedly came over with this latter company of Leyden people, with her son Isaac, and perhaps with another son. Prince says, 'Isaac came over to Plymouth Colony, lived to above ninety years of age, a venerable man, whom I have often seen, and has left male posterity in the County of Barnstable.' He was at Scituate in 1636, and in 1639 removed to Barnstable. Prince, I. 160; Deane, *Scituate*, 332. [He was at Duxbury before he was at Scituate. Winsor, *Duxbury*, 297.]" DEANE. The Leyden census of 1622 named as children of John Robinson, Isaac, Mercy, Fear and James. The tradition which gives him a son named Abraham must be rejected, no reasonable evidence in its support having come to light. A daughter, Bridget, married at Leyden, John Greenwood from London. Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 616. Savage (*Dic-*

[165] That I may handle things togeather, I have put these ·2· companies that came from Leyden in this place; though they came at ·2· severall times, yet they both came out of England *this year*.[1] The former company, being ·35· persons, were shiped in *May*, and arived here aboute *August*. The later were shiped in the begining of *March*, and arived hear the later end of *May*, *1630*.[2] Mr. Sherleys ·2· letters, the effect whereof I have before related, (as much of them as is pertinente,) mentions both. Their charge, as Mr. Allerton brought it in afterwards on accounte, came to above 550*li*. besides ther fetching hither from *Salem* and the *Bay*, wher they and their goods were landed; viz. their transportation from Holland to England, and their charges lying ther, and passages hither, with clothing provided for them.[3] For I find by accounte for the one company, ·125· yeards of karsey, ·127· ellons of linen cloath, shoes, 66 pairs, with many other perticulers. The charge of the other company is reckoned on the severall families, some ·50*li*·, some ·40*li*·, some ·30*li*·, and so more or less, as their number and expencess were. And besides all this charg, their freinds and bretheren here were to provid corne and other provissions for

tionary, III. 551) conjectures that the mother died soon after reaching the plantation, which would account for the absence of any mention of her in the records. Isaac removed to Barnstable with Rev. John Lothrop, in October, 1639.

[1] *I.e.* in May and August, 1629, as by Mr. Sherley's letter of May 25, 1629. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

[2] These came in the *Lyon*, Captain William Peirce, from Bristol, and Allerton was a passenger. Winthrop, on June 12, writes "About four in the morning we were near our port. We shot off two pieces of ordnance, and sent our skiff to Mr. Peirce his ship (which lay in the harbour) and had been there [] days before. About an hour after, Mr. Allerton came aboard us in a shallop as he was sailing to Pemaquid," no doubt with Ashley. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS. Peirce returned to Salem July 7, when he made an agreement with Winthrop for supplies.

[3] Higginson advised such as desired to go to New England, and had the means, to buy a ship for the voyage, as the less costly method. "The payment of the transportation of things is wondrous deare, as 5*l* a man and 10*l* a horse and commonly 3*l* for every tunne of goodes: so that a little more than will pay for the passage will purchase the possession of a ship for all together." *Hutchinson Papers*, *48.

them, till they could reap a crope which was long before. Those that came in May were thus maintained upward of ·16· or ·18· months, before they had any harvest of their owne, and the other by proportion. And all they could doe in the mean time was to gett them some housing, and prepare them grounds to plant on, against the season. And this charg of maintaining them all this while was litle less then the former sume. These things I note more perticulerly, for sundry regards. First, to shew a rare example herein of brotherly love, and Christian care in performing their promises and covenants to their bretheren, too, and in a sorte beyonde their power; that they should venture so desperatly to ingage themselves to accomplish this thing, and bear it so cheerfully; for they never demanded, much less had, any repaymente of all these great sumes thus disbursed. 2ly. It must needs be that ther was more then of man in these acheevements, that should thus readily stire up the harts of shuch able frinds to joyne in partnership with them in shuch a case, and cleave so faithfullie to them as these did, in so great adventures; and the more because the most of them never saw their faces to this day; ther being neither kindred, aliance, or other acquaintance or relations betweene any of them, then hath been before mentioned; it must needs be therfore the spetiall worke and hand of God. 3ly. That these poore people here in a willderness should, notwithstanding, be inabled in time to repay all these ingagments, and many more unjustly brought upon them through the unfaithfullnes of some, and many other great losses which they sustained, which will be made manifest, if the Lord be pleased to give life and time. In the mean time, I cannot but admire his ways and workes towards his servants, and humbly desire to blesse his holy name for his great mercies hithertoo. [166]

The Leyden people being thus come over, and sundry of the generalitie seeing and hearing how great the charge was like to be that was that way to be expended, they begane to murmure and repine

at it, notwithstanding the burden lay on other mens shoulders; espetially at the paying of the ·3· bushells of corne a year, according to the former agreemente, when the trade was lett for the ·6· years aforesaid. But to give them contente herein allso, it was promised them, that if they could doe it in the time without it, they would never demand it of them; which gave them good contente. And indeed it never was paid, as will appeare by the sequell.

Concerning Mr. Allertons procceedings about the inlarging and confirming of their patent, both that at home and Kenebeck, will best appere by *another leter of Mr. Sherleys;* for though much time and money was expended aboute it, yet he left it unaccomplisht this year, and came withoute it.[1] See Mr. Sherleys letter.

MOST WORTHY AND LOVING FREINDS, etc.

Some of your letters I received in July, and some since by Mr. Peirce, but till our maine bussines, the patent, was granted, I could not setle my mind nor pen to writing. Mr. Allerton was so turmoyled about it, as verily I would not nor could not have undergone it, if I might have had a thousand pounds; but the Lord so blessed his labours (even beyond expectation in these evill days) as he obtained the love and favore of great men in repute and place. He got granted from the *Earle of Warwick and Sr. Ferdinando Gorge* all that Mr. Winslow desired in his letters to me, and more allso, which I leave to him to relate.[2] Then he

[1] "From the date of the following letter and the narrative of proceedings which it details, it would seem that Governor Bradford here refers to Allerton's return in 1630 from the visit he may have made to England this year; and not to his return this year from his mission of 1628. . . . Bradford is silent as to the time of his return, but it appears that he was not prepared to come with the first company of Leyden people who left in May; though Morton, in his *New English Canaan*, speaks of his own return at 'the ordinary time for shipping to set forth for these parts.' If Bradford's chronology is here correctly apprehended, he makes no mention of Allerton's being sent over to England again this year, but the following letter and other evidence sufficiently indicate that he was there." DEANE.

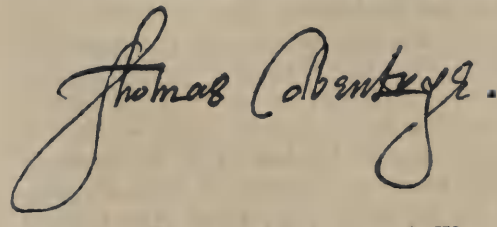
[2] This grant from the Council for New England to the colony of New Plymouth, dated January 13, 1629–30, was made to William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns. The original parchment, bearing the seal of the Council and the signature of

sued to the king to confirme their grante, and to make you a corporation, and so to inable you to make and execute lawes, in shuch large and ample maner as the Massachusett plantation hath it; which the king graciously granted, referring it to the Lord Keeper[1] to give order to the

the Earl of Warwick, the President, is in Plymouth. "A royal charter, so anxiously desired, so temptingly held out to them by Sherley, and for which so much money had been lavished, was never granted to the colony during its existence. The powers of government which they exercised were derived from no higher authority than that by which the compact on board the Mayflower was made in 1620." DEANE.

In this grant the territorial limits are defined, and, as was most unusual in such cases, the bounds were quite accurately named and described, as they inclosed a territory known to Winslow. He had been to Massachusetts Bay, now no longer open territory, and he had visited Sowams, to the South. The western bound might have been open to dispute, as the Indians of Pokanoket would not have been able to mark the limits of their holdings.

In the patent of 1630 the bounds of New Plymouth were thus described: "All that Parte of New Englande in America aforesaid, and Tracte and Tractes of Lande that lye within or betweene a certain Rivolett or Rundlett there, commonly called Coahassett, alias Conahasset, towards the north, and the River commonly called Naragansets River towards the South, and the great Westerne Ocean towards the East, and betweene and within a straight line directly extendinge upp into the maine Land towards the West, from the mouth of the said River called Naragansetts Riuer, to the vtmost Limitts and Bounds of a Cuntry or Place in New Englande, commonly called Pokenacutt, alias Sowamsett, westward, and another like straight Line, extending itself directly from the Mouth of the said River called Coahassett, alias Conahassett, towards the West soe farr upp into the maine Lande Westwards, as the utmost Limitts of the said Place or Cuntry, commonly called Pokenacutt, alias Sowamsett, doe extend togeather with one half the said Riuer called Naragansetts, and the said Rivolett or Rundlett called Coahassett, alies Conahassett." Hazard, I. 300.



The limits of the Kennebec grant, contained in the same document, will be found on p. 175, *infra*.

[1] Thomas Coventry (1578–1640), now by a recent creation (April 10, 1628) Baron Coventry of Aylesborough, Worcestershire. Upon him fell the duty of expressing and defending the king's position in the controversies that arose between king and Parliament 1626–1638, after which his zeal for royal claims somewhat abated. Clarendon states that "he knew the temper, disposition, and genius of the



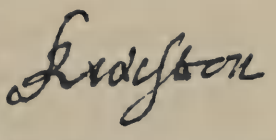
PATENT TO NEW PLYMOUTH, 1630.

solisiter to draw it up, if ther were a presidente for it. So the Lord Keeper furthered it all he could, and allso the solissiter; but as Festus said to Paule,[1] With no small sume of money obtained I this freedom; for by the way many ridells must be resolved, and many locks must be opened with the silver, ney, the golden key. Then it was to come to the Lord Treasurer,[2] to have his warrente for freeing the custume for a certaine time; but he would not doe it, but refferd it to the Counsell table.[3] And ther Mr. Allerton atended day by day, when they sate,

kingdom most exactly. . . . He had, in the plain way of speaking and delivery, without much ornament of elocution, a strange power of making himself believed." His connection with plantation interests was not slight, for he was an adventurer in the Virginia Company under the "third charter," was consulted by the New England Company on the renewal of their patent in 1622–1623, served on the Virginia Commission of 1624, and on the commission for plantations in 1634. His services were chiefly those of a lawyer. Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, 866.

[1] Acts XXII. 28. "And the chiefe captaine answered, With a great summe obtained I this freedome."

[2] The post of Lord High Treasurer was an especially onerous one under Charles I. Richard, Baron Weston, and afterwards first Earl of Portland, was appointed to the office in July, 1628. "This slippery post had been held by five living treasurers, none of whom had retained it more than a few months, and Clarendon suggests that Weston's removal was only prevented by Buckingham's death on 23 August." The unpopularity of Buckingham was shared by Weston, whose greed was openly denounced, the charge being made of his receiving money from Spain. The difficulties in his way were great, for he encountered the extravagance of the King, the lavish expenditures of the Queen, and the hatred of the courtiers who failed to draw favors from the royal bounty. It is hardly probable that a bribe was expected from Allerton, as the freedom from customs had been inserted in former patents to colonizing companies. The records of the Privy Council contain no record of such a question being raised in behalf of the Plymouth plantation.



[3] Freedom from customs or subsidies on merchandize, etc., either inward or outward, was granted in the Charter of Massachusetts Bay, for seven years, and also freedom from all taxes, subsidies and customs in New England for a like term of seven years, and from all taxes and impositions for the space of twenty and one years, "upon all goods and merchandizes at any tyme or times hereafter, either upon importation thither, or exportation from thence into our realm of England, or into any other our dominions," except after seven years five per cent on imports into England or other of the King's dominions, "according to the ancient trade of merchants." Haz-

but could not gett his petition read.[1] And by reason of Mr. *Peirce his staying with all the passengers at Bristoll*, he was *forct to leave* the further prosecuting of it to a solissiter. But ther is no fear nor doubte but it will be granted, for he hath the cheefe of them to freind; yet it will be marvelou[s]ly *needfull for him to returne by the first ship that comes from thence;* for if you had this confirmed, then were you compleate, and might bear shuch sway and goverment as were fitt for your ranke and place that God hath called you unto; and stope the moueths of base and scurrulous fellowes, that are ready to question and threaten you in every action you [167] doe. And besides, if you have the custome free for ·7· years inward, and ·21· outward, the charge of the patent will be soone recovered, and ther is no fear of recovering [obtaining [2]] it. But shuch things must work by degrees; men cannot hasten it as they would; werefore we (I write in the behalfe of all our partners here) *desire you to be ernest with Mr. Allerton to come*, and his wife to spare him this one year more, to finish this great and waighty bussines, which we conceive will be much for your good, and I hope for your posteritie, and for many generations to come.

Thus much of this letter. It was dated the March 19, 1629.[3]

By which it appears what progress was made herein, and in part what charge it was, and how left unfinished, and some reason of the same; but in truth (as was afterwards app[r]ehended) the meaine reason was Mr. Allerton's policie, to have an opportunitie to be sent over againe, for other regards; and for that end procured them

ard, I. 249. The distinction made by Sherley between the exports and imports is not clear. The question of tonnage and poundage, under discussion at this very time (1629), involved the power of the King arbitrarily to impose duties upon imports. If the King could lay customs duties by prerogative, no limit could be placed upon the possible exactions. This claim involved a grave constitutional question, in which the plantations seemed to be concerned only indirectly. No considerable revenue could be expected from the trade of the plantations, and the northern or New England settlements had no important staple of export except pelts.

[1] That is, the petition prepared by Bradford.

[2] This word is here substituted on the authority of Bradford's *Letter Book*.

[3] *I.e.* March 19, 1629–30. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

thus to write. For it might then well enough have been fin[i]shed, if not with that clause aboute the custumes, which was Mr. Allertons and Mr. Sherleys device, and not at all thought on by the colony here, nor much regarded,[1] yet it might have been done without it, without all quest[i]on, *having passed the kings hand;* nay it was conceived it might then have beene done with it, if he had pleased; but covetousnes never brings ought home, as the proverb is, for this oppertunytie being lost, it was never accomplished, but a great deale of money veainly and lavishly cast away aboute it, as doth appear upon their accounts. But of this more in its place.

Mr. Alerton gave them great and just ofence in this (which I had omited [2] and almost forgotten), — in bringing over this year, for base gaine, that unworthy man, and instrumente of mischeefe, *Morton*, who was sent home but the year before for his misdemenors.[3] He not only brought him over, but to

Thomas Morton

[1] The customs revenue in 1604 had been farmed for a period of seven years for £112,400 a year. In 1610, when the renewal of the farm was considered, the income had risen to £136,000. Additional duties were imposed (1) for encouragement of production, as, for example, that on Spanish tobacco, favoring the Virginia leaf; or again, they were imposed (2) to encourage domestic commerce, through heavier duties on alien than on English traders; or, finally, (3) they were imposed for purely revenue purposes, as the duty on currants. As customs had grown out of the international relations of the kingdom, over which the King had full control, he could at will open or close the gates or ports of trade, and levy such duties as he should think meet. In return he was bound to fortify the coasts and protect the merchants on the seas from piracy or the oppression of foreign states. While the King did not always fulfil his part of the reciprocal obligation, in theory no person or goods could leave or enter the realm without royal permission. Freedom from customs did not involve so much a relief in money as it did an absence of restriction. At the same time what the crown granted, the crown could revoke; so the excuse given by Sherley for the delay in obtaining the patent has the appearance of concealing the true reason, which concerned Sherley and his partners more immediately than New Plymouth.

[2] This paragraph is written on the reverse of page 167 of the original manuscript.

[3] "Being ship'd againe for the parts of New Canaan, [he] was put in at Plimmouth in the very faces of them, to their terrible amazement to see him at liberty; and [they] told him hee had not yet fully answered the matter they could object against him. Hee

the towne (as it were to nose [1] them), and lodged him at his owne house, and for a while used him as a scribe to doe his bussines, till he was caused to pack him away. So he wente to his old nest in the Massachusets, wher it was not long but by his miscariage he gave them just occation to lay hands on him; [2] and he was by them

onely made this modest reply, that he did perceave they were willfull people, that would never be answered: and he derided them for their practises and losse of laboure." Morton, *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 304.

[1] In the meaning of to confront, face, or oppose a person in an impudent or insolent manner.

[2] The existence of the Massachusetts Bay settlement at Naumkeak completely altered Morton's situation. His lands, if he ever had a right to them, were included in the Company's patent, and he could not trade with the Indians without bringing down upon him hostile action on the part of both the Plymouth and the Naumkeak people. He appears to have given an account, substantially accurate, of his troubles. Endecott, according to his instructions, summoned the old planters, whose lands were now included under the Massachusetts patent, to a conference at Naumkeak, where he sought to bind them to recognize the authority of the new government. The tenor of the articles was that "in all causes, as well Ecclesiasticall as Politicall, wee should follow the rule of God's word." Morton refused to subscribe unless the words "so as nothing be done contrary or repugnant to the Lawes of the Kingdome of England," be added. Endecott also sought to bring all trade under one management; Morton not only remained without the agreement, but he derided the simplicity of the truck-masters, boasting of his gain of six or seven to one, while they had obtained scant profit. He was, in short, still a thorn in the flesh of the magistrates, who determined to get him out of the country. Not being honest of carriage, or conforming to good order and government, he fell under the general instructions given to Endecott for the suppression of factious spirits. It has been suggested that Morton's attitude was due to his confidence in the efforts of Oldham and Gorges to secure advantage against the Massachusetts Bay Company, and even possession of a part of its territory. Adams, Introduction to *New English Canaan*, 40. Endecott sought to arrest Morton, but the latter gaining knowledge of his intention escaped, though losing everything but his gun and powder, with which he supported himself through the winter of 1629. With the arrival of Winthrop in 1630, Morton's career in the region ended, for he could no longer hope for an increase of his own strength or any consideration from his opponents. He was "sent for by process," and after a short hearing was condemned to the bilbows, to be transported to England, and to suffer the loss of all his property. Further "that his howse, after the goods are taken out, shalbe burnt downe to the ground in the sight of the Indians, for their satisfaccon, for many wrongs hee hath done them from tyme to tyme." *Mass. Col. Rec.*, I. 75. For four months he was held,

NEW ENGLISH CANAAN
OR
NEW CANAAN.

Containing an Abſtract of New England,

Compoſed in three Bookes.

The firſt Booke ſetting forth the originall of the Natives, their Manners and Cuſtomes, together with their tractable Nature and Love towards the Engliſh.

The ſecond Booke ſetting forth the naturall Indowments of the Country, and what ſtaple Commodities it yealdeth.

The third Booke ſetting forth, what people are planted there, their proſperity, what remarkable accidents have happened ſince the firſt planting of it, together with their Tenents and practiſe of their Church.

Written by Thomas Morton of Cliffords Inne gent; *upon tenne yeares knowledge and experiment of the Country.*



Printed at AMSTERDAM,
By JACOB FREDERICK STAM.
In the Yeare 1637.

againe sent prisoner into England, wher he lay a good while in Exeter Jeole. For besides his miscariage here, he was ve[he]mently suspected for the murder of a man that had adventured moneys with him, when he came first into New-England.[1] And a warrente was sente from the Lord Cheefe Justice to apprehend him, by vertue whereof he was by the Gov[erno]r of the Massachusets sent into England; and for other his misdemenors amongst them, they demolisht his house, that it might be no longer a roost for shuch unclaine birds to nestle in. Yet he got free againe, and write an infamouse and scurillous booke against many godly and cheefe men of the cuntrie; full of lyes and slanders, and fraight with profane callumnies against their names and persons, and the ways of God.[2]

until a vessel, the *Handmaid*, was found to take him, into which he was ignominiously hoisted by a tackle, and from whose decks he saw the flames that destroyed his dwelling. He threatened the master of the vessel, John Grant, with his displeasure, but proved powerless to effect his purpose. Matthews in *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, LIX. 185; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XLIV. 255.

[1] This charge of murder against Morton was persistent, and took more than one form. To interpret the Bradford version would mean that Morton had killed one interested with him either in the Weston settlement of 1622, or in the Wollaston venture of 1625. It is improbable that Morton had held any real responsibility in the Weston project, while he is known to have been a partner in that of Wollaston. Thomas Dudley, writing in 1631, says Morton was sent to England "for that my Lord Chief Justice [Sir Nicholas Hyde] there so required, that he might punish him capitally for fouler misdemeanours there perpetrated." Thomas Wiggin, in 1632, wrote to Sir John Coke, a member of the Privy Council, that on authority of Morton's "wife sonne and others," Morton had fled to New England "upon a foule suspition of murther." As Wiggin's object was to clear the New Englanders of charges of cruelty and oppression, he would have every reason to give the worst character possible to Morton; yet he could only mention a "suspition of murther," and that chiefly upon the testimony of one probably the step-son of Morton. Winslow, in his petition of 1635, says Morton was sent to England the second time "by my Lord Chief Justice Hides Warrant to answere to the murther of a person specified therein." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, v. 133. No charge of this description was pressed against him while he was in England, and urging his claims against the authorities of Massachusetts Bay. There is nothing improbable in the charge of murder.

[2] Morton's book states on the title-page that it was printed in Amsterdam, but it is believed that it was printed in London, and the name Amsterdam added to escape any

After sundry years, when the warrs were hott in England, he came againe into the cuntrie, and was imprisoned at Boston for this booke and other things, being grown old in wickednes.[1]

Concerning the rest of Mr. Allertons instructions, in which they strictly injoyned him not to exceed above that 50*li.* in the goods before mentioned, not to bring any but trading commodities, he followed them not at all, but did the quite contrarie; bringing over many other sorts of retaile goods, selling what he could by the way on his owne accounte, and delivering the rest, which he said to be theirs, into the store; and for trading goods brought but litle in comparison; excusing the matter, they *had laid out much aboute*

penalty that might be imposed on so objectionable a publication. Some copies have a title-page with London, as the place of publication, and Charles Green as the printer. There was a printer in London of that name, his first work being entered at Stationers' Hall in July, 1633, and his last in June, 1638. On November 18, 1633, he entered on the Stationer's Register "under the handes of Master Weckerlyn and Master Aspley warden a booke called *New Englandes Canaan*, composed in 3. bookes &c by Thomas Mooreton." Arber, *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, IV. 283. It is not believed that Morton had at that time completed his writing, as internal evidence shows he added matter in 1634. The bibliographical points are treated in Adams, *New English Canaan*, 99.

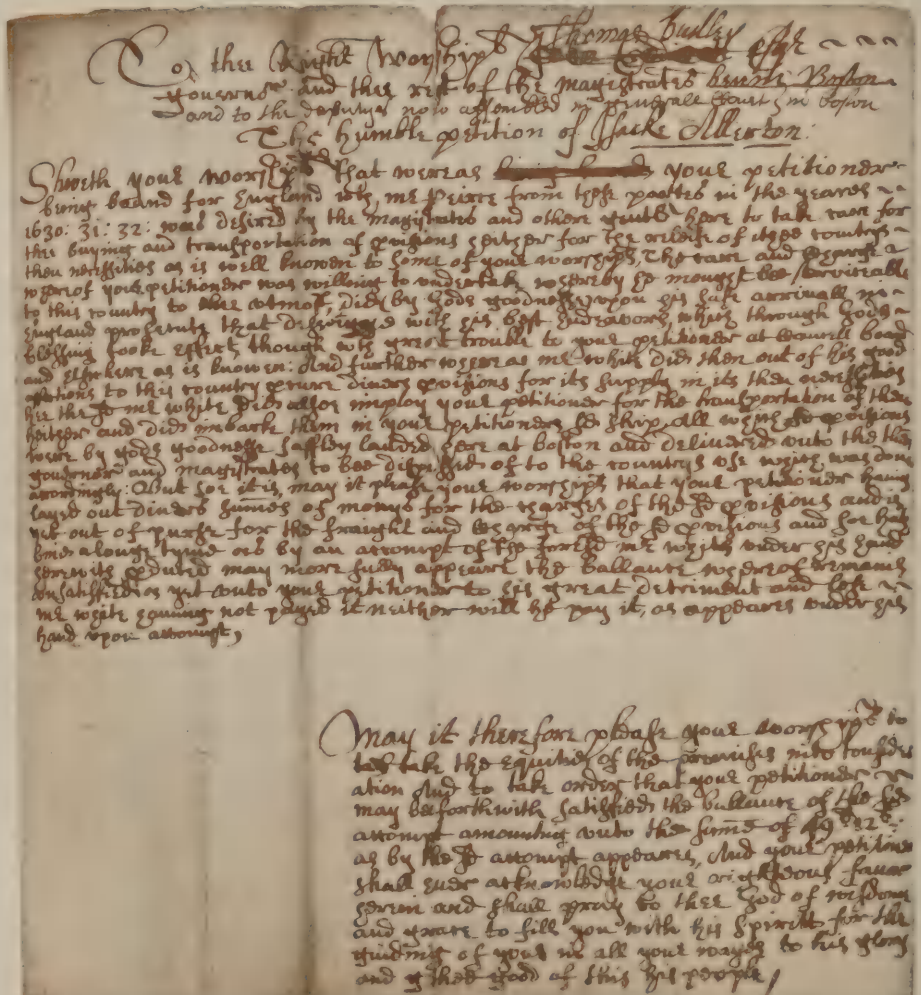
[1] He returned to New England about 1643. He was at New Plymouth in September of that year, and less in favor than ever. His book formed only one of the indictments against him; his known opposition to the plantations of Massachusetts had not advanced his interests either at Boston, Plymouth, or even Rhode Island. Winslow wrote to Winthrop, September, 1643: "Concerning Morton, our Governor gave way that he should winter heer, but begon as soon as winter breaks up. Captain Standish takes great offence theerat, especially that he is so neer him as Duxburrow and goeth sometimes a fowling in his ground. He cannot procure the lest respect amongst our people, liveth meanely at four shillings per week, and content to drinke water, so he may dyet at that price. But admit he hath a protection, yet it were worth the while to deale with him till we see it. The truth is I much question his pretended employment; for he hath heer onely showed the frame of a Common Weale and some old sealed commissions, but no inside knowne." 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 175. He soon afterwards went to Casco Bay and in September, 1644, fell into the hands of the authorities of Massachusetts Bay. With the winter of 1643 and spring of 1644, therefore, his connection with the history of Plymouth ceased. Adams, Introduction to the *New English Canaan*, 86, gives a full account of his subsequent career.

the Laiden people, and patent, etc. And for other goods, they had much of them of ther owne dealings, without present disbursemente, and to like effect. And as for passing his bounds and instructions, he laid it on Mr. Sherley, etc., who, he said, they might see his mind in his leters; also *that they had sett out Ashley at great charg;* but *next year they should have what trading goods they would send for*, if things were now well setled, etc. And thus were they put off; indeed Mr. *Sherley* write things tending this way, but it is like he was overruled by Mr. Allerton, and harkened more to him then to their letters from hence.

Thus he *further writes in the former leter.*[1]

I see what you write in your leters concerning the overcomming and paying of our debts, which I confess are great, and had need be carfully looked unto; yet no doubt but we, joyning in love, may soone over-come them; but we must follow it roundly and to purposs, for if we pedle out the time of our trade, others will step in and nose us. But we know that you have that aquaintance and experience in the countrie, as none have the like ; wherfore, freinds and partners, be no way discouraged with the greatnes of the debt, etc., but let us not fullfill the proverbe, to bestow 12*d.* on a purse, and put 6*d.* [168] in it; but as you and we have been at great charg, and undergone much for setling you ther, and to gaine experience, so as God shall enable us, let us make use of it. And think not with 50*li.* pound a yeare sent you over, to rayse shuch means as to pay our debts. We see a possibillitie of good if you be well supplied, and fully furnished; and cheefly if you lovingly agree. *I know I write to godly and wise men*, shuch as have lerned to bear one an others infirmities, and rejoyce at any ones prosperities; and if I were able I would press this more, because it is hoped by some of your enimies, that you will fall out one with another, and so over throw *your hopfull bussines*. Nay, I have heard it crediblie reported, that some have said, that till you be disjoynted by discontents and fractions amongst your sellves, it bootes not any to goe over, in hope

[1] An extract from the letter written by Sherley and Hatherley, dated March 19, 1629–30.



To the Right Worshipp Thomas Dudley Esqr
Governor and the rest of the magistrats heare at Boston
and to the Deputyes now assembled in the Generall Court in Boston
The humble petition of Isaack Allerton.

Sheweth your worshipp that whereas your petitioner
being bound for England with mr Peirce from hence in the yeares
1630: 31: 32: was desired by the magistrats and others your
then buying and transportation of persons goods for the ordinary affaires of these countrys
then neighbors as is well known to some of your worshipp, the rare and dangerous
perill of your petitioner was willing to undertake, whereby he might be furnished
to this country to their utmost, which by Gods goodnes upon his safe arrivall in
England prosperd that beyond his best endeavors, which through Gods
blessing tooke effect though with much trouble to your petitioner at Bristoll and
and elsewhere as is known: And further whereas mr Cotton did then out of his good
affections to this country procure diverse petitions for its supply in its then extremities
for the which mr White did also employ your petitioner for the transportation of them
hither and did imbarke them in your petitioners ship all which petitions
have by Gods goodnes safely landed here at Boston and deliverd unto the hands
yourselves and magistrats to bee disposed of to the countrys use which was done
accordingly: But for it is, may it please your worshipp that your petitioner having
layed out diverse summs of money for the wages of the said petitioners and is
yet out of purse for the freight and wages of the said petitioners and is
bind alongst hyred ons by an arrouest of the court mr White under his hand
wherby he would have more fully appeared the balance whereof remains
unsatisfied as yet unto your petitioner to his great detriment and losse
mr White denying not payd it neither will he pay it, as appeares under his
hand upon arrouest,

May it therefore please your worshipp to
take the equitie of the premises into consider-
ation and to take order that your petitioner
may be forthwith satisfied the ballance of the said
arrouest amounting unto the summ of 49li 12s:
as by the said arrouest appeares, and your petitioner
shall euer acknowledge your worshipps favour
herein and shall pray to thee God of wisdom
and grace to fill you with his Spirit for the
guidance of you in all your wayes to his glory
and y[e] good of his people/

ISAAC ALLERTON.

of getting or doing good in those parts. But we hope beter things of you, and that you will not only bear one with another, but banish shuch thoughts, and not suffer them to lodg in your brests. God grant you may disappointe the hopes of your foes, and procure the hartie desire of your selves and friends in this perticuler.

By this it appears that ther was a kind of concurrance betweene Mr. Allerton and them in these things, and that they gave more regard to his way and course in these things, then to the advise from hence; which made him bould to presume above his instructions, and to rune on in the course he did, to ther greater hurt after wards, as will appear. These things did much trouble them hear, but they well knew not how to help it, being loath to make any breach or contention hear aboute; being so premonished as before in the leter above recited. An other more secrete cause was herewith concurrente; Mr. Allerton had maried the daughter of *their Reverend Elder, Mr. Brewster* (*a man beloved and honoured amongst them, and who tooke great paines in teaching and dispenceing the word of God unto them*), whom they were loath to greeve or any way offend, so as they bore with much in that respecte. And with all Mr. Allerton carried so faire with him, and procured shuch leters from Mr. Sherley to him, with shuch applause of Mr. Allertons wisdom, care, and faithfullnes, in the bussines; and as things stood none were so fitte to send aboute them as he; and if any should suggest other wise, it was reather out of envie, or some other sinister respecte then other wise. Besides, though private gaine, I doe perswade my selfe, was some cause to lead Mr. Allerton aside in these beginings, yet I thinke, or at least charitie caries me to hope, that he intended to deale faithfully with them in the maine, and had shuch an opinion of his owne abillitie, and some experience of the benefite that he had made in this singuler way, as he conceived he might both raise him selfe an estate, and allso be a means to bring in shuch profite to Mr. Sherley, (and it may be the rest,) as might be as lickly to bring in their moneys againe

with advantage, and it may be sooner then from the generall way; or at least it was looked upon by some of them to be a good help ther unto; and that neither he nor any other did intend to charge the generall accounte with any thing that rane in perticuler; or that Mr. Sherley or any other did purposs but that the generall should be first and fully supplyed. I say charitie makes me thus conceive; though things fell out other wise, and they missed of their aimes, and the generall suffered abundan[t]ly hereby, as will afterwards apear. [169]

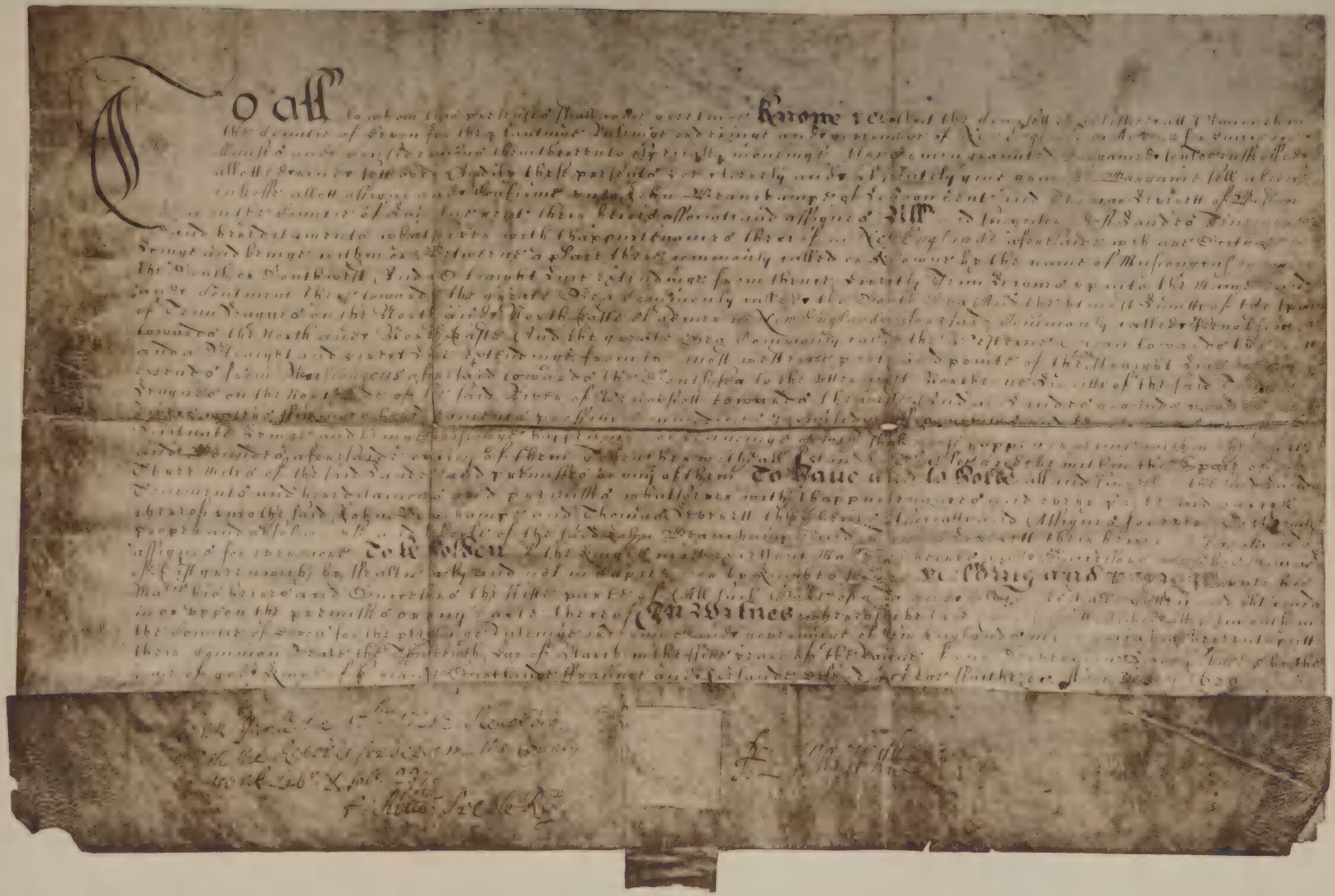
Togeither herewith sorted an other bussines contrived by Mr. Allerton and them ther, without any knowledg of the partners, and so farr proceeded in as they were constrained to allow therof, and joyne in the same, though they had no great liking of it, but feared what might be the evente of the same. I shall relate it in a *further part of Mr. Sherley's leter* as followeth.[1]

I am to aquainte you that we have thought good to joyne with one *Edward Ashley* (a man I thinke that some of you know);[2] but it is only of *that place wherof he hath a patente in Mr. Beauchamps name;*[3] and to that end have furnished him with large provissions, etc. Now if you please to be partners with us in this, we are willing you

[1] By the date of Mr. Sherley's and Hatherley's letters of March 19, 1629–30, it seems that all this account of Ashley should be brought into 1630. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

[2] The *Letter Book*, 72, makes Sherley say, "whom most of you know." Sherley here assumes that some at New Plymouth knew Ashley. He afterwards admits, however, that the English partners knew nothing about him, and had been persuaded to employ him by Allerton. The terms of the contract agreements proved to be disadvantageous to New Plymouth. See p. 121, *infra*.

[3] This patent, dated March 13, 1629–30, was granted to John Beauchamp of London, gent., and Thomas Leverett, of Boston in Lincolnshire. It described all the land lying between Muscongus on the south, or southwest, and a straight line extending thence ten leagues up into the mainland, and ten leagues on the north and northeast of the river Penobscot. The original patent is in the Massachusetts Historical Society, and is printed in its *Proceedings*, II. 544. The history of the grant is given in 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, II. 226.



MUSCONGUS PATENT, 1629.

shall; for after we heard how forward Bristoll men (and as I hear some able men of his owne kindrid) have been to stock and supply him, hoping of profite, we thought it fitter for us to lay hould of such an opportunitie, and to keep a kind of running plantation, then others who have not borne the burthen of setling a plantation, as we have done. And he, on the other side, like an understanding *yonge man*, thought it better to joyne with those that had means by a plantation to supply and back him ther, rather then strangers, that looke but only after profite.[1] Now it is not knowne that you are partners with him; but only we ·4·, Mr. *Andrews*, Mr. *Beachamp*, my *selfe*, and Mr. *Hatherley*, who *desired to have the patente*, in consideration of our great loss we have allready sustained in setling the first plantation ther; so we *agreed togeather to take it in our names*. And now, as I said before, if you please to joyne with us, we are willing you should.[2] Mr. Allerton had no power from you to make this new contracte, neither was he willing to doe any thing therin without your consente and approbation. Mr. *William Peirce* is joyned with us in this, for we thought it very conveniente, *because of landing Ashley* and his goods ther, if God please; and he *will bend his course accordingly*.[3] He hath *a new boate* with him, and *boards to make another*, with ·4· or ·5· lustie fellowes, wherof one is a carpenter.[4] Now in the case you are not willing

[1] Bradford omits the character given of Ashley detailed in Sherley's letter: "Indeed the Salem partners here, as Mr. Humfries, Mr. Johnson, but chiefly Mr. Craddock and Mr. Winthrop, would fain have joined with him, and, when that could not be, with us, in that business; but we not willing, and they failing they said he would strip them of all trade in those parts; and therefore they so crossed him and us in the taking of the patent, as we could not have it, but to join their name with ours in it, though Knights, and men of good rank and near the King, spake in his behalf; and this I conceive they did only to bring it to pass, that they might join with us." *Letter Book*, 72.

[2] "Partake with us in the profit, if it please God to send any." *Letter Book*.

[3] By this it seems as if Mr. Peirce had Ashley and the goods in him, and was to land them at Penobscot. But whether he did so after June 12, 1630, when Governor Winthrop found him in Salem harbor, I am yet uncertain. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

Peirce was a sailor rather than an adventurer in plantations, and while he appears to have had a share in this mercantile business of Ashley, he soon after was glad to receive cash for his part. See p. 119, *infra*.

[4] "Of all trades carpenters are most needful, therefore bring as many as you can." Higginson, in *Hutchinson Papers*, *48.

in this perticuler to joyne with us, fearing the charge and doubting the success, yet thus much we intreate of you, to afford him all the help you can, either by men, commodities, or boats; yet not but that we will pay you for any thing he hath. And we desire you to keep the accounts apart, though you joyne with us; becase ther is, as you see, other partners in this then the other; so, for all mens wages, boats-hire, or comodities, which we [1] shall have of you, make him debtore for it; and what you shall have of him, make the plantation or your selves debtors for it to him, and so ther will need no mingling of the accounts.

And now, loving freinds and partners, if you joyne in Ashles patent and bussines,[2] though we have laid out the money and taken up much to stock this bussines and the other, yet I thinke it conscionable and reasonable that you should beare your shares and proportion of the stock, if not by present money, yet by securing us for so much as it shall come too; for it is not barly the interest that is to be alowed and considered of, but allso the adventure; though I hope in God, by his blessing and your honest indeavors, it may soon be payed; yet the years that this partnership holds is not long, nor many; let all therfore lay it to harte, and make the best use of the time that possiblie we cann, and let every man put too his shoulder, and the burthen will be the lighter.[3] I know you are so honest and conscionable men, as you will consider hereof, [170] and returne shuch an answer as may give good satisfaction. Ther is none of us that would venture as we have done, were it not to strengthen and setle you more then our owne perticuler profite.[4]

[1] "he," in *Letter Book.*

[2] "as I cannot see but it is for your good to do." *Letter Book.*

[3] "For though some speak or write not of it, but are contented to do as I do, and wholly rely on me, yet I would be loath they should think themselves hardly dealt with all; but I know," etc. *Letter Book.*

[4] Sherley mentioned at this point the names of four who had some intentions of taking part in the adventure, but did not for one reason or another. Three of these names are not met with in any connection with New Plymouth. "Mr. Fogge, Mr. Coalson, and Mr. Thomas, though they seemed earnest to be partners, yet when they saw the debt and charge fell themselves off, and left you, us, and the business; but some though honest, yet I think they minded their own particular profit so much, as both you and we may be glad we are rid of them: For Mr. Collier verily I could have

Ther is no liclyhood of doing any good in buying the debte for the purchas. I know some will not abate the interest, and therfore let it rune its course; they are to be paied yearly, and so I hope they shall, according to agreemente. The Lord grante that our loves and affections may still be united, and knit togeither; and so we rest your ever loving friends,

JAMES SHERLEY.
TIMOTHY HATHERLEY.

Bristoll, March 19. 1629 [–30].[1]

This mater of the buying the debts of the purchass was parte of Mr. Allertons instructions, and in many of them it might have been done to good profite for ready pay (as some were); but Mr. Sherley had no mind to it. But this bussines aboute Ashley did not a litle trouble them; for though he had wite and abillitie enough to menage the bussines, yet some of them knew him to be a very profane yonge man; and he had for some time lived amonge the Indeans as a savage, and wente naked amongst them, and used their maners (in which time he got their language), so they feared he might still rune into evill courses (though he promised better), and God would not prosper his ways. *As soone as he was landed at the place intended, caled Penobscote, some ·4· score leagues from this place, he write* (*and afterwards came*) for to desire *to be supplyed with Wampampeake, corne* AGAINST WINTER, and other things. They considered these were of their cheefe commodities, and would be continually needed by him, and it would much prejudice their

wished it would have sorted his other affairs, to have been one of us, but he could not spare money, and we thought it not reasonable to take in any partner, unless he were willing and able to spare money, and to lay down his portion of the stock; however, account of him as a sure friend, both ready and willing to do you all the offices of a firm friend." *Letter Book.* Mr. Fogg may have been Ralph Fogg, who came to New Plymouth in 1633, but removed to Salem in 1634, where he held office, and later returned to England.

[1] I conclude, according to the old English account, March 19, 1629–30. So that Ashley came to Penobscot in the spring, and to Plymouth in the fall, of 1630; and the four following paragraphs belong to 1630. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

owne trade at Kenebeck if they did not joyne with him in the ordering of things, if thus they should supply him; and on the other hand, if they refused to joyne with him, and allso to afford any supply unto him, they should greatly offend their above named friends, and might hapily lose them hereby; and he and Mr. Allerton, laying their craftie wits togither, might gett supplies of these things els wher; besides, they considered that if they joyned not in the bussines, they knew Mr. Allerton would be with them in it, and so would swime, as it were, betweene both, to the prejudice of boath, but of them selves espetially. For they had reason to thinke this bussines was cheefly of his contriving, and Ashley was a man fitte for his turne and dealings. So they, to prevente a worse mischeefe, resolved to joyne in the bussines, and gave him supplies in what they could, and overlooked his procceedings as well as they could; the which they did the better, by joyning an honest yonge man,[1] that came from Leyden, with him as his fellow (in some sorte), and not merely as a servante. Which yonge man being discreete, and one whom they could trust, they so instructed as keept Ashley in some good mesure within bounds. And so they *returned their answer to their freinds in England, that they accepted of their motion*, and *joyned with them in Ashleys bussines;* and yet withall tould them what their fears were concerning him.

[1] Thomas Willett. — BRADFORD. Thomas Willett (1605–1674) was one of the few agents concerned in the fur trade who retained a reputation for honesty in the service of his employers. He was born in August, 1605, the fourth son of Rev. Andrew Willet (1562–1621), rector of Barley, Co. Leicester. He is believed to have joined the Leyden people in Holland and to have come with the party of 1629 to Plymouth. Because of his discretion and character he received the responsibility of an association with Ashley at Kennebec, and remained in charge after Ashley had shown his true disposition. Successful as a trader with the Indians, he extended his own operations, becoming a ship-owner, a trader with the Dutch, and an assistant of the plantation for some years. In 1650 he acted as an arbitrator on behalf of the Dutch in their disputes with the planters of Connecticut, and four years later (in 1654) with Standish was named to lead the New Plymouth forces against the Dutch. In 1664 he accompanied Nicolls to New Amsterdam, and on the surrender of the city became its first Mayor, to the content of English and Dutch alike. Returning to Massachusetts soon after 1667 he settled in Swansea. *Magazine of Am. History*, XVII. 233.

THOMAS WILLETT, 1665.

But when they came to have full notice of all the goods brought them that year, they saw they fell very short of trading goods, and Ashley farr better suppleyed then [171] them selves; so as they were *forced to buy of the fisher men* to furnish them selves, *yea*, and cottens and carseys [1] and other shuch like cloath (for want of trading cloath) *of Mr. Allerton him selfe*, and so to put away a great parte of their beaver, at under rate, in the countrie, which they should have sente home, to help to discharge their great ingagementes; which was to their great vexation; but Mr. Allerton prayed them to be contente, and *the nexte yere they* might have what they would write for. And *their ingagmentes of this year* were great indeed when they came to know them, (which was not wholy *till ·2· years after*); and that which made them the more, Mr. *Allerton had taken up some large summes at Bristoll at ·50li· per cent. againe*, which he excused, that he was forcte too it, because other wise he could *at the spring of year* get no goods transported, shuch were their envie against their trade. But wheither this was any more then an excuse, some of them doubted; but however, the burden did lye on their backs, and they must bear it, as they did many heavie loads more in the end.[2]

[1] "In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries *kerseys* are commonly contrasted with *cloths* or *broad-cloths;* the size of the latter was fixed by the statute of 1465 as twenty-four yards long by two wide, while a kersey was only eighteen yards long and a yard and a nail in width. The act of 1552 enumerates various kinds of kerseys, as ordinary, sorting, Devonshire (called dozens), and check kerseys, and fixes their length as between seventeen and eighteen yards; in 1557 this was reduced to between sixteen and seventeen. About 1618 we find three kersies reckoned as equal to one cloth." *New English Dictionary*. The origin of the word is not known, but it may be derived from the village of Kersey in Suffolk.

[2] Special reasons existed in England at this juncture for making it difficult to obtain money at reasonable rates for doubtful adventures. The crop of wheat in 1629 promised so poorly that the export was prohibited by proclamation (May 2, 1629), till the price should fall under the statute rate. Beggars and vagabonds proved troublesome, and even the English soldiers discharged from the Dutch service were directed to return at once to their homes and not linger in London. In April, 1630, the approach of pestilence led to further stringent "quickning the Lawes

This paying of 50*li* per cent. and dificulty of having their goods transported by the fishing ships at the first of the year, (as was beleeved,) which was the cheefe season for trade, put them upon another projecte. Mr. *Allerton, after the fishing season was over*, light of a bargan of salte, at a good fishing place, and bought it; which came to aboute 113*li;* and shortly after he might have had 30*li.* cleare profite for it, without any more trouble aboute it. But Mr. *Winslow coming that way from Kenebeck*, and some other of ther partners with him in the barke, they mett with Mr. Allerton, and falling into discourse with him, they stayed him from selling the salte; and resolved, if it might please the rest, to keep it for them selves, and to *hire a ship in the west cuntrie to come on fishing for them, on shares, according to the coustome;* and seeing she might have her salte here ready, and a stage ready builte and fitted wher the salt lay safely landed and housed. In stead of bringing salte, they might stowe her full of trading goods, as bread, pease, cloth, etc., and so they might have a full supply of goods without paing fraight, and in due season, which might turne greatly to their advantage. Coming home, this was propounded, and considered on, and approved by all but *the Gov[erno]r, who had no mind to it, seeing they had allway lost by fishing;* but the rest were so ernest, as thinkeing that they might gaine well by the fishing in this way; and if they should but save, yea, or lose some thing by it, the other benefite would be advantage inough; so, seeing their ernestnes, he gave way, and it was referd to their freinds in England to alow, or disalow it. Of which more in its place.

Upon the consideration of the bussines about *the paten[t]*, and in what state it was left, as is before remembred, and Mr. *Sherleys ernest pressing to have Mr. Allerton to come over againe to finish it*, and perfect the accounts, etc., it was *concluded to send him over this*

made for the reliefe of the poore" and enforcement of such health regulations as were known at that time (Proclamation of April 23, 1630), and in June the prohibition against the export of wheat was renewed.

year againe ;[1] though it was with some fear and jeolocie; yet he gave them fair words and promises of well performing all their bussineses according to their directions, and to mend his former errors. So he was accordingly sent with full instructions for all things, *with large letters to Mr. Sherley and the rest, both aboute Ashleys bussines and their owne suply with trading comodities, and how much it did concerne them to be furnished therwith, and what they had suffered for wante therof; and of what litle use other goods were* [172] *in comparison therof;* and so likewise aboute *this fishing ship, to be thus hired,* and *fraught with trading goods,* which might *both supply them and Ashley,* and *the benefite therof;* which was left to their consideration to hire and set her out, or not; *but in no case not to send any, ex*[*c*]*epte she was thus fraighte with trading goods.* But what these things came too will appere in the next years passages.

I had like to have omited an other passage that fell out the *begining of this year.* Ther was one Mr. *Ralfe Smith,* and his wife and familie, that came over into the Bay of the Massachusets,[2] and

[1] I suppose in the fall of 1630. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

[2] "Mr. Raph Smith, a minister, hath desired passage in our [shipps], which was graunted him before wee vnderstood of his difference of judgment in some things from our ministers. But his provisions [for] his voyage being shipt before notice was taken thereof, through many occasions wherwith those intrusted with this business have bin employed, and forasmuch as from hence it is feared there may growe some distracc̃on amonst you if there should bee any syding, though wee haue a very good opinion of his honesty, wee shall not, hope, offend in charitie to feare the worst that may grow from their different judgments. We haue therfore thought fitt to giue you this order, that vnless hee wilbe conformable to our goverment, you suffer him not to remaine within the limitts of [our] graunt." *Craddock to Endecott,* April 17, 1629. *Mass. Col. Rec.,* I. 390. Smith came over with Higginson, in the *Talbot,* but inclined far towards separatism, whereas both Skelton and Higginson were Non-conformists. He was educated at Christ College, Cambridge, taking his A.B. in 1613. It is not known when he came to New Plymouth or when his installation as first pastor of the church of that place occurred. He remained in office until 1636, under circumstances detailed in p. 236, *infra.* "Elder Brewster, with his year or two of uncompleted study at Cambridge, was so far as appears, the only man of university training in the

sojourned at presente with some stragling people that lived at Natascoe;[1] here being a boat of this place putting in ther on some occasion, he ernestly desired that they would give him and his, passage for Plimoth, and some shuch things as they could well carrie; having before heard that ther was liklyhood he might procure house rome for some time, till he should resolve to setle ther, if he might, or els-wher as God should disposs; for he was werie of being in that uncoth place, and in a poore house that would neither keep him nor his goods drie. So, seeing him to be a grave man, and understood he had been a minister, though they had no order for any shuch thing, yet they presumed and brought him. He was here accordingly kindly entertained and housed, and had the rest of his goods and servants sente for, and exercised his gifts amongst them, and afterwards was chosen into the ministrie, and so remained for sundrie years.[2]

[Plymouth] Colony from the landing in 1620 till the arrival of the first settled minister, Ralph Smith, in 1629." Dexter in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XVII. 344.

[1] It appears to have been a harbor of refuge, as well as a fishing station, and must in 1628 have been a place of settlement if the rate it was assessed for the taking of Morton is any criterion — £1.10 as against £2.10 for Plymouth. Adams in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XVI. 205.

[2] The death of John Robinson put an end to all hopes of enjoying his ministry in New Plymouth, and Elder Brewster, "who was qualified both to rule well, and also to labor in the word and doctrine," filled the office acceptably until Ralph Smith came to the settlement. Although Bradford's words about Smith are friendly, evidence exists that the church was not satisfied with the newcomer. On this Hubbard is more full. Smith, finding no people in the Massachusetts that "stood in any need of his labors, was easily persuaded to remove to Plymouth; him they called to exercise the office of a pastor, more induced thereunto, possibly, by his approving the rigid way of the Separation principles, than any fitness for the office he undertook; being much over-matched by him [Brewster] that he was joined with in the presbytery, both in point of discretion to rule, and aptness to teach, so as through many infirmities, being found unable to discharge the trust committed to him with any competent satisfaction, he was forced soon after to lay it down. Many times it is found that a total vacancy of an office is easier to be borne, than an under-performance thereof." *History*, 97.

He married at Plymouth Mary, widow of Richard Masterson, one of the Holland

It was before noted that sundry of those that came from *Leyden*, came over in the ships that came to *Salem*, wher Mr. Endecott had cheefe command; and by infection that grue amonge the passengers at sea, it spread also among them a shore, of which many dyed, some of the scurvie, other of an infectious feavore, which continued some time amongst them (though our people, through Gods goodnes, escaped it). Upon which occasion he write hither for some help, understanding here was one that had some skill that way, and had cured diverse of the scurvie, and others of other diseases, by letting blood, and other means. Upon which his request the Gov[erno]r hear sent him unto them, and also write to him, from whom he received an answere; the which, because it is breefe, and shows the begining of their aquaintance, and closing in the truth and ways of God, I thought it not unmeete, nor without use, hear to inserte it; and an other showing the begining of their fellowship and church estate ther.[1]

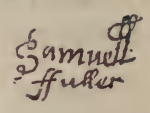
Company. Gorton asks why Morton in his *New Englands Memoriall* wrote "Mr." Ralph Smith? "Why is not your Canonization not exercised upon him, he was your ancient pastor and of my knowledge as pure and precise in your religion as any of you all, What was he not rich enough, or was he not honourable enough, or had neither himselfe nor his poets made verses enough to bring him into the ranke, What a wofull neglect was that, yet I neuer knew it before that without poetrie we cannot be esteemed holy and honourable; neither gray haires nor pastorall charge will bring vs into holy order, no not so much as to be numbred among the Chemarims." *Letter to Morton*, in Force, *Tracts*. Gorton makes allusion to Morton's tendency to print in his *Memoriall* the elegiac verses of "eminent Divines."

[1] "And also some endeavors were used to promote the welfare of the Plantation, so far as he [Endecott] was capable in the beginning of things, by laying some foundation of religion, as well as civil government, as may appear by the . . . [above letter], to obtain the help of one Mr. Fuller, a deacon of Mr. Robinson's church, skilled in the diseases of the country, which those people that first came over in those two years were filled withal, and also well versed in the way of church discipline practised by Mr. Robinson's church; which letter was the foundation on which was raised all the future acquaintance, the Christian love and correspondency, that was ever after maintained betwixt their persons and respective Colonies." Hubbard, *History*, 115.

Being as followeth.

RIGHT WORTHY SIR:

It is a thing not usuall, that servants to one m[aste]r and of the same houshold should be strangers; I assure you I desire it not, nay, to speake more plainly, I cannot be so to you. Gods people are all marked with one and the same marke, and sealed with one and the same seale, and have for the maine, one and the same harte, guided by one and the same spirite of truth; and wher this is, ther can be no discorde, nay, here must needs be sweete harmonie. And the same request (with you) I make unto the Lord, that we may, as Christian breethren, be united by a heavenly and unfained love; bending all our harts and forces in furthering a worke beyond our strength, with reverence and fear, fastening our eyes allways on him that only is able to directe and prosper all our ways. I acknowledge my selfe much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller among us, and rejoyce much that I am by him satisfied touching your judgments of the outward forme of Gods worshipe. It is, as farr as [173] I can yet gather, no other then is warrented by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have proffessed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercie revealed him selfe unto me; being farr from the commone reporte that hath been spread of you touching that perticuler.[1] But Gods children must not looke for



[1] This visit of Samuel Fuller to Salem produced even more notable consequences in religious than in medical matters. Walker says he was "more than any other man to be the means of transforming New England Puritanism into Congregationalism." *History of the Congregational Churches in the United States*, 65. Those who came to Salem had never entertained a separation from the Church of England. They rejected the corruptions of that church, as seemed to them necessary; but to follow the example of those of New Plymouth, true Separatists, was abhorrent to them. Even Winthrop and his party, leaving England a year or more later, took occasion to pledge their loyalty to the Church of England, "our deare Mother." While the exact steps taken from this position cannot be described, the arguments of Fuller so wrought upon Endecott as to produce a positive alteration in opinion. "Puritans and Separatists had never had doctrinal disagreement; both were pronounced Calvinists. Both alike believed that much of the worship required by the English Establishment was superstitious. Both held that in the Bible God has set forth all his will. Both welcomed preaching on the doctrinal issues of the day. Both had left their native land

less here below, and it is the great mercie of God, that he strengthens them to goe through with it. I shall not neede at this time to be tedious unto you, for, God willing, I purpose to see your face shortly.

to escape High Commission Courts and requirements of uniformity, that they might practice 'the positive part of church reformation.' . . . The use of a distinct covenant as the basis of the local church is one of the fundamental principles of Congregationalism which never found acceptance with English Puritanism as a whole, but was typical of the system of Browne, Barrowe, and Robinson. The ordination of its ministers by the local congregation, in addition to their election, was also a distinctly Separatist doctrine. . . . We may safely conjecture that the discussions with Fuller embraced four or five features of church life, in regard to all of which general Puritan custom differed from that of Plymouth: the power of a local congregation to ordain its own chosen officers; the participation or non-participation of the church as a whole in matters of discipline; the use of a covenant; the conduct of public worship; and relationship or non-relationship to a national church whose nearest congregation was three thousand miles away. On all these points except the last the practice of Plymouth won over or confirmed the inclinations of the Puritans at Salem. . . . But if the soil was thus prepared for the seed which Dr. Fuller sowed, his planting was of the first importance. Agreed as Endecott found that he was with the men of Plymouth, the discovery of that agreement was in no small measure due to the persuasive skill of the Plymouth physician." Walker, *History of the Congregational Churches in the United States*, 101–103.

That the influence exerted by New Plymouth should have been so great as was stated even in the early days of the Massachusetts plantation did not please Hubbard.

"They had beforehand, and in order thereunto, acquainted the present Deputy Governor with their purpose, and consulted one with another about settling a Reformed congregation, according to the rules of the Gospel, as they apprehended, and the pattern of the best Reformed Churches that they were acquainted with, it being their professed intention in this great and solemn undertaking to go on therein as they should find direction from the word of God. Concerning the way and manner of their first covenanting together, and entering into church fellowship one with another, it doth not appear that these were, like those of New Plymouth, aforehand moulded into any order, or form of church government; but were honest minded men, studious of reformation, that only had disliked some things in the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England, but were not precisely fixed upon any particular order or form of government, but, like *rasa tabula*, fit to receive any impression that could be delineated out of the Word of God, or vouched to be according to the pattern in the Mount, as they judged. Nor are their successors willing to own that they received their platform of church order from those of New Plymouth; although there is no small appearance that in whole or part they did (further than some wise men wish they had done,) by what is expressed in Mr. Endicot's letter, above inserted; or else

In the mean time, I humbly take my leave of you, commiting you to the Lords blessed protection, and rest,

Your assured loving friend,

Jo: ENDECOTT.

Naumkeak,[1] May 11. Anno. 1629.

good wits, as they use to say, did strangely jump very near together, into one and the same method and idea of church discipline. And it were well if Mr. Skelton, when he was left alone soon after by the death of Mr. Higginson, did not, in some things, not only imitate and equal, but strongly endeavor to go beyond, that pattern of Separation set up before them in Plymouth, in the pressing of some indifferent things, that savored as much, or more than they of Plymouth did, of the same spirit; as in that of enjoining all women to wear veils, under the penalty of non-communion, urging the same as a matter of duty and absolute necessity, as is by some reported, as well as in refusing communion with the Church of England." Hubbard, *History*, 117.

"Master Robinson did derive his way to his separate Congregation at Leyden; a part of them did carry it over to Plymouth in New England; here Master Cotton did take it up, and transmit it from thence to Master *Thomas Goodwin*, who did help to propagate it to sundry others in *Old-England* first, and after, to more in *Holland*, till now by many hands it is sowne thick in divers parts of this Kingdome. But the manner how this seed did grow, is not unworthy consideration.

"When the Separatists for whole Fifty years had overtoil'd themselves for little purpose, their horrible Divisions, wheresoever they set up, marring their encrease, behold, at the very point of time when their *Spunk* was dying, and their little smoke, both at *Amsterdam* and *Leyden*, was well-neer vanished, God in his secret providence permitted the tyranny of Bishops, which first had begotten them, to put new life in their ashes, and bring them back from their grave, to that vigour wherein now they appear.

When the fire of *Brownism* was dying out in *Holland*, a little of its ashes carried to *New-England* broke out there with a lasting flame.

"After the death of *Ainsworth*, the *Brownists* at *Amsterdam* came to a small inconsiderable handfull, and so yet they remain. No other at that time in the whole world were known of that Religion, but a small company at *Leyden*, under Master *Robinson's* Ministery; which, partly by Divisions among themselves, and partly by their Pastors deserting many of their Principles, was well-neer brought to nought: Onely about the Twenty eighth, as I take it, or the Thirtieth year of this Age, some of them going over, for a more commodious habitation, to *New-England*, did perswade their neighbours who sate down with them there at *New-Plymouth*, to erect with them a Congregation after their separate way.

"The Congregation did incontinent leaven all the vicinity. The Planters in *New-England*, so far as their own informations give notice, not minding Religion for many

[1] "As in New England the Nations beleeve the Creation of the world by God, the

This second leter sheweth ther proceedings in their church affaires at Salem, which was the ·2· church erected in these parts; and afterwards the Lord established many more in sundrie places.

Sir: I make bould to trouble you with a few lines, for to certifie you how it hath pleased God to deale with us, since you heard from us. How, notwithstanding all opposition that hath been hear, and els wher, it hath pleased God to lay a foundation, the which I hope is agreeable to his word in every thing. The ·20· of July, it pleased the Lord to move the hart of our Gov[erno]r to set it aparte for a sollemne day of humilliation for the choyce of a pastor and teacher. The former parte of the day being spente in praier and teaching, the later parte aboute the election, which was after this maner. The persons thought on (who had been ministers in England) were demanded concerning their callings; they acknowledged ther was a towfould calling, the one

years after their first enterprise, were ready to receive, without great question, any pious form which might be presented by their neighbours, whose mind served them to be active in such matters. Also that way of *New-Plymouth*, beside the more then ordinary shew of devotion, did hold out so much liberty and honour to the people, [55] that made it very suitable and lovely to a multitude who had lately stepped out of the Episcopall thraldome in *England*, to the free aire of a new World. However it was, without any noise in a few years, the most who setled their habitations in that Land, did agree to modell themselves in churches after *Robinson's* patern." Baillie, *Dissvasive from the Errours of the Time* (1645), 55, 56.

Creation of one man and woman, their happy condition at the first, and seduction by the envy (as they say) of the Cony, which moves them to abhorre that creature unto this day more than any Serpent. It is also reported that they separate their women in the times appointed by the Law of *Moses*, counting them and all they touch uncleane during that time appointed by the Law: whether upon any other ground, or by a tradition received from the *Iewes*, it is uncertaine. Some conceive, their Predecessors might have had some commerce with the *Iewes* in times past, by what meanes I know not: Howsoever it bee, it fals out that the name of the place, which our late Colony hath chosen for their seat, prooves to bee perfect Hebrew, being called *Nahum Keike*, by interpretation, *The bosome of consolation:* which it were pitty that those which observed it not, should change into the name of *Salem*, though upon a faire ground, in remembrance of a peace setled upon a conference at a generall meeting betweene them and their neighbours, after expectance of some dangerous jarre." White, *The Planters Plea*, *13, 14.

an inward calling, when the Lord moved the harte of a man to take that calling upon him, and fitted him with guiftes for the same; the second was an outward calling, which was from the people, when a company of beleevers are joyned togither in covenante, to walke togither in all the ways of God, and every member (being men) are to have a free voyce in the choyce of their officers, etc. Now, we being perswaded that these ·2· men were so quallified, as the apostle speaks to Timothy, wher he saith, A bishop must be blamles, sober, apte to teach, etc.,[1] I think I may say, as the eunuch said unto Philip, What should let from being baptised, seeing ther was water, and he beleeved?[2] So these ·2· servants of God, clearing all things by their answers, (and being thus fitted,) we saw noe reason but we might freely give our voyces for their election, after this triall.[3] So Mr. Skelton was chosen pastor, and Mr. Higgi[n]son to be teacher; and they accepting the choyce, Mr. Higgi[n]son, with ·3· or ·4· of the gravest members of the church, laid their hands on Mr. Skellton, using prayer therwith. This being done, ther was imposission of hands on Mr. Higgi[n]son also.[4] And since that time, Thursday (being, as I take it,

[1] 1 Tim. III. 2. [2] Acts VIII. 36.

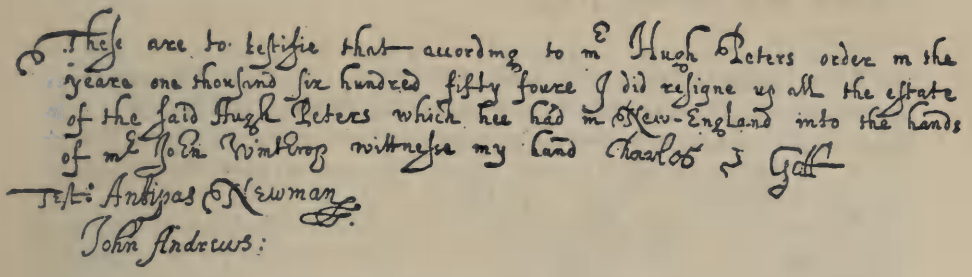
[3] "Their choice was after this manner, every fit member wrote, in a note, his name whom the Lord moved him to think was fit for a pastor, and so likewise, whom they would have for teacher." Bradford's *Letter Book*. A confession of faith and a covenant "in scripture-language" were prepared by Higginson, and thirty copies made for signing, that doubtless being the number of those "fit" to vote.

[4] "By this laying on of hands Higginson and Skelton broke with the whole system of episcopal succession which Laud maintained, and illustrated the wholly congregational conception that it was within the province of every Christian congregation not only to choose but to ordain its own officers — a conception which had been held in its fullness only by Separatists and Anabaptists." Walker, *History of the Congregational Churches in the United States*, 106. Morton states that the ordination of pastor and teacher occurred on August 6, and that Bradford and others set out from Plymouth to attend, but "coming by sea, [they] were hindred by cross winds, that they could not be there at the beginning of the day, but they came into the assembly afterward, and gave them the right hand of fellowship." *New Englands Memoriall*, *75. Walker doubts if those of New Plymouth were formally invited to participate in this ordination.

It is very clear from subsequent events that the course thus taken did not please all the members of the new church. John and Samuel Browne were sent back to

the ·6· of August) is appoynted for another day of humilliation, for the choyce of elders and deacons, and ordaining of them.[1]

And now, good Sir, I hope that you and the rest of Gods people (who are aquainted with the ways of God) with you, will say that


These are to testifie that— according to mr Hugh Peters order in the yeare one thousand six hundred fifty foure I did resigne up all the estate of the said Hugh Peters which hee had in New-England into the hands of mr John Winthrop witnesse my hand Charles J Gott
Test: Antipas Newman
John Andrews:

hear was a right foundation layed, and that these ·2· blessed servants of the Lord came in at the dore, and not at the window. Thus I have

England by Endecott, because they were dissatisfied with the form of worship adopted, as savoring too much of Separation. Rev. Ralph Smith, on the other hand, left Salem for Nantascoe, because the Salem church was not sufficiently Separatist to meet his desires. Another minister of this migration, Francis Bright, returned to England in the following year, for a cause, as is believed, not unlike that which governed the sending of the Brownes. In any event the middle course thus enforced did not commend itself to those in England any more than it did to those in Salem. The Company wrote to Endecott deprecatingly: "Wee may haue leaue to think that it is possible some vndigested councells haue too sodainely bin put in execuc̃on, which may have ill construc̃on with the state heere, and make vs obnoxious to any adversary." And when it was learned that the sacraments had been denied to good church members like Winthrop, Dudley and Johnson, and baptism refused to Coddington's child, on the ground that they were not members of any local church, John Cotton wrote to Skelton: "You went hence of another judgment, and I am afraid your change hath sprung from New Plymouth men." The history and influence of this important step on the part of the Salem church are fully told in Walker, op. cited.

This imposition of hands is the exact ceremony described by Staresmore, vol. 1. p. 82, to which Sir John Wolstenholme made objection.

[1] Some action was taken on this day, July 20, on the choice of elders and deacons, for Gott wrote: "Then there was proceeding in election of elders and deacons, but they were only named, and laying on of hands deferred, to see if it pleased God to send us more able men over." The full letter of Gott, dated July 30, is in *Bradford Letter Book*, 67.

made bould to trouble you with these few lines, desiring you to remember us, etc.[1] And so rest,

At your service in what I may,

CHARLES GOTT.[2]

Salem, July 30. 1629. [174]

[1] The missing words may be supplied from the *Letter Book:* "to Mr. Brewster, Mr. Smith, Mr. Fuller and the rest of the church." Morton says that "letters did pass between Mr. *Higginson*, and Mr. *Brewster* the reverend Elder of the Church of *Plimouth*, and they did agree in their judgements, viz., concerning the *Church-Membership* of the Children with their parents, and that Baptism was a seal of their *Membership*, only when they were adult," &c. *New Englands Memoriall*, *77.

[2] Charles Gott came in the *Abigail* with Endecott, requested admission as freeman October, 1630, and was a representative in the General Court, 1635. He removed to Wenham, and was instrumental in procuring a minister for that place after the physician-minister, John Fisk, had left the town in 1656, with a majority of the church. Gott died in 1667 or 1668.

Anno Dom: ·1630·

ASHLEY, being well supplyed, had quickly gathered a good parcell of beaver, and like a crafty pate he sent it all home,[1] and would not pay for the goods he had had of the plantation hear, but lett them stand still on the score, and tooke up still more. Now though they well enough knew his aime, yet they let him goe one, and write of it into England. But partly the beaver they received, and sould, (of which they weer sencible,) and partly by Mr. Allertons extolling of him, they cast more how to supplie him then the plantation, and something to upbraid them, with it. They [2] were forct to buy him *a barke* allso, and to furnish her with a m[aste]r and men, to transporte his corne and provissions (of which he put of much); for the Indeans of those parts have no corne growing, and *at harvest*, after corne is ready, the weather grows foule, and the seas dangerous, so as he could doe litle good with his shallope for that purposs.

They looked ernestly for a timely supply *this spring*,[3] by the *fishing ship* which they expected, and had been at charg to keepe *a stage* for her; but none came, nor any supply heard of for them. *At length they heard sume supply was sent to Ashley by a fishing ship*, at which they something marvelled, and the more that they had no letters either from Mr. Allerton or Mr. Sherley; so they went on in their bussines as well as the[y] could. *At last they heard of Mr. Peirce his arivall in the Bay of the Massachusetts*, who brought passengers and goods thither.[4] They presently sent a shallop, conceiv-

[1] I suppose this was in the fall of 1630. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

[2] *They*, that is, the New Plymouth Adventurers. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

[3] This must be the spring of 1631, i.e. the spring after Ashley went to Penobscut. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

[4] Deane shows that Peirce was at Salem June 12, 1630; sails for Ireland or England

ing they should have some thing by him. But he tould them he had none; and *a ship was sett out on fishing*, but after ·11· weekes beating at sea, she mett with shuch foull weather as she was forcte back againe for England, and, the season being over, gave off the vioage.[1] Neither did he hear of much goods in her for the plantation, or that she did belong to them, for he had heard some thing from Mr. Allerton tending that way. But Mr. *Allerton had bought another ship*, and *was to come in her*, and was *to fish for bass to the eastward*, and to bring goods, etc. These things did much trouble them, and half astonish them. *Mr. Winslow haveing been to the eastward*, brought nuese of the like things, with



about August, 1630; set sail from Bristol, England, December 1, 1630; arrives from England at Natasket, February 5, 1630–31; sails from Salem, April 1, arrives at London, April 29, 1631; arrives again from England at Natasket, November 2, 1631. Winthrop does not name the captain or vessel by which the letters out of the *White Angel* were brought to Boston. Bradford was either mistaken or misinformed of the name of the master of the ship. Allerton went with Peirce in August, 1630. *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, II. 40.

[1] June 27, 1631, letters from the *White Angel*, lately arrived at Saco, were brought to Governor Winthrop. "She brought [] cows, goats, and hogs, and many provisions, for the bay and for Plimouth. Mr. Allerton returned in this ship, and by him we heard, that the Friendship, which put out from Barnstable [eleven?] weeks before the Angel [about Christmas, 1630], was forced home again by extremity of foul weather, and so had given over her voyage. This ship, the Angel, set sail from [Bristol]." Winthrop, *History*, I. *57.

Christopher Burkett may have been master of the *White Angel* (p. 33 *n*, *supra*).

some more perticulers, and *that it was like Mr. Allerton would be late before he came*. At length they, *having an oppertunitie*, resolved to *send Mr. Winslow*, with what beaver they had ready, into England, *to see how the squares wente*, being very jeolouse of these things, and Mr. Allertons courses; and writ shuch leters, and gave him shuch instructions, as they thought meet; and if he found things not well, *to discharge Mr. Allerton for being any longer agent* for them, or to deal any more in the bussines, and *to see how the accounts stood*, etc.

Aboute the *midle of sommer* arrives Mr. *Hatherley in the Bay of the Massachusetts*, (being one of the partners,) and came over *in the same ship that was set out on fhishing* (called *the Frendship*).[1] They presently sent to him, making no question but now they had goods come, and should know how all things stood. But they found [175] the former news true, how this ship had been so long at sea, and spente and spoyled her provissions, and overthrowne the viage. And he being sent over by the rest of the partners, to see how things wente hear, *being at Bristoll with Mr. Allerton, in the shipe bought* (called *the White-Angell*), *ready to set sayle*, over night came a messenger from Bastable to Mr. Allerton, and tould him of the returne of the ship, and what had befallen. And he not knowing what to doe, having a great chareg under hand, the ship lying at his rates, and now ready to set sayle, *got him to goe and discharg the ship*,[2] and take order for the goods. To be short, they found Mr. Hatherley some thing reserved, and troubled in him selfe, (Mr. Allerton not being ther,) not knowing how to dispose of the goods till he came; but he *heard he was arived with the other ship to the eastward*,[3] and expected his coming. But he tould them ther was not much for them in this ship, only ·2· packs of Bastable

[1] She sailed again from Barnstable about the middle of May, and arrived at Boston, July 14, 1631. Winthrop, *History*, I. *58.

[2] That is, of her fishing crew. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

[3] That is, the *White Angel* at Saco. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

ruggs,[1] and ·2· hoggsheads of meatheglin,[2] drawne out in wooden flackets (but when these flackets came to be received, ther was left but·6· gallons of the·2· hogsheads, it being drunke up under the name leackage, and so lost). But *the ship was filled with goods for sundrie gentle men, and others, that were come to plant in the Massachusetts*, for which they payed fraight by the tunn.[3] And this was all the satisfaction they could have at presente, so they brought this small parcell of goods and *returned with this nues, and a letter* as obscure; which made them much to marvell therat. The letter was as followeth.

GENTLE-MEN, PARTNERS, AND LOVING FRIENDS, etc.

Breefly thus: wee have this year set forth a *fishing ship*, and a *trading ship, which later we have bought ;* and so have disbursed a great deale of money, as may and will appeare by the accounts. And because *this ship* (*called the White Angell*) is to acte ·2· parts, (as I may say,) *fishing for bass*, and *trading ;* and that while Mr. Allerton was imployed aboute the trading, the fishing might suffer by carlesnes or neglecte of the sailors, *we have entreated your and our loving friend, Mr. Hatherley, to goe over with him*, knowing he will be a comforte to Mr. *Allerton*, a joye to you, to see a carfull and loving friend, and a great stay to the bussines; and so great contente to us, that if it should please God the one should faile, (as God forbid,) yet the other would keepe both recconings, and things uprighte. For we are now out great sumes of money, as they will acquainte you withall, etc. When we were out

[1] There were one hundred rugs, costing £75. (See p. 131, *infra*.) Rugs were not of great value, and twenty-four sent to Richmond's Island in 1634, cost only £6. 3 or about five shillings each. *Trelawny Papers*, 35. But see 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IX. 264.

[2] Metheglin is defined as a "spiced or medicated variety of mead, originally peculiar to Wales." Venner, writing in his *Via Recta* (1620), II. 41, says: "If Rosemary, Hyssop, Time, Orgaine, and Sage, be first well boyled in the water, whereof you make the Metheglin, it will be the better." The meaning of the word is a healing liquor.

[3] Allerton charged some £3 a ton freight; but on what was sent to the partners he charged £4. See p. 136, *infra*. On the *White Angel* was probably sent the merchandise intended for Richard Vines. See p. 124, *infra*.

but·4· or·5· hundred pounds a peece, we looked not much after it, but left it to you, and *your agente*, (*who, without flaterie, deserveth infinite thanks and comendations, both of you and us, for his pains*, etc.); but now we are out double, nay, treble a peece, some of us, etc.; which makes us both write, and send over our friend, Mr. Hatherley, whom we pray you to entertaine kindly, of which we doubte not of. The main end of sending him is to see the state and accountes of all the bussines, of all which we pray you informe him fully, though the ship and bussines wayte for it and him. For we should take it very unkindly that we should intreat him to take shuch a journey, and that, when it pleaseth God he returnes, he could not give us contente and satisfaction in this perticuler, through defaulte of any of you. [176] But we hope you will so order bussines, as neither he nor we shall have cause to complaine, but to doe as we ever have done, thinke well of you all, etc. I will not promise, but shall [1] indeaour and hope to effecte the full desire and grant of your patente, and that ere it be longe. I would not have you take any thing unkindly. I have not write out of jeoloucie of any unjuste dealing. Be you all kindly saluted in the Lord, so I rest,

Yours in what I may,
JAMES SHERLEY.

March 25, 1630 [–31].[2]

It needs not be thought strange, that these things should amase and trouble them; first, that *this fishing ship* [3] should be set out, and *fraight with other mens goods, and scarce any of theirs;* seeing their maine end was (as is before remembred) to bring them a full supply, and their speatiall order not to sett out any excepte this was done. And now a ship to come on their accounte, clear contrary to their both end and order, was a misterie they could not understand; and so much the worse, seeing she had shuch ill suc-

[1] Bradford wrote the word "still," but struck it out.

[2] Mr. Sherley, being unmindful that, according to the old English way, 1630 ended on March 24, 1630, happens to misdate his letter, which should have been March 25, 1631. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

[3] That is, the *Friendship*. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

cess as *to lose both her vioage and provissions.* The · 2 · thing, that *another ship* [1] *should be bought* and *sente out on new designes,* a thing not so much as once thought on by any here, much less, not a word intimated or spoaken of by any here, either by word or leter, neither could they imagine why this should be. *Bass fishing was never lookt at by them, but as soone as ever they heard on it, they looked at it as a vaine thing, that would certainly turne to loss.*[2] And for Mr. Allerton to follow any trade for them, it was never in their thoughts. And 3ly, that their friends should complaine of disbursements, and yet rune into shuch great things, and charge of shiping and new projects of their owne heads, not only without, but against, all order and advice, was to them very strange. And 4ly, that all these matters of so great charg and imployments should be thus wrapped up in a breefe and obscure letter, they knew not what to make of it. But *amids all their doubts they must have patience till Mr. Allerton and Mr. Hatherley should come.* In the mean time *Mr. Winslow was gone for England;* [3] and others of them were forst

[1] That is, the *White Angel.* — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

[2] The bass (*Labrax lupus*), a corrupt form of the Dutch word baars, was found in European waters, and was there also known as sea-wolf and sea-dace. The sea-bass of the coasts of North America is an allied species. The usual fish sought near Newfoundland was cod, and little mention will be found among contemporary writers of any other fish being taken in large quantities for the European markets. The idea of a profitable bass fishery must have originated in some merchant-adventurer of greater zeal than knowledge. Perhaps the suggestion may have been derived from Captain Smith, for in his *Generall Historie,* which appeared in 1626, he states that the Plymouth people had taken "one thousand Bases at a draught; and in one night twelve Hogsheads of Herrings" (237); but he is inaccurate in his language, nor does he mention bass in his account of the seasons for fishing in New England, though he does mention it among the fishes to be found off that coast. *Description of New England,* *35, 48.

One of the adventurers in this fishing ship, Dennison by name, brought suit against Allerton for £100, a sixth part of the money disbursed on account of the ship. The exact division of the shares and the names of the shareholders are not stated. See p. 151, *infra.*

[3] Which seems to be before July 14, 1631, when the *Friendship* arrived with Mr. Hatherley at Boston. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

to folow their imployments with the best means they had, till they could hear of better.

At length Mr. Hatherley and Mr. Allerton came unto them, (after they had delivered their goods,) [1] and finding them strucken with some sadnes aboute these things, Mr. *Allerton* tould them that the ship *Whit-Angele* did not belong to them, nor their accounte, neither neede they have any thing to doe with her, excepte they would. And Mr. *Hatherley* confirmed the same, and said that they would have had him to have had a parte, but he refused; but he made question whether they would not turne her upon the generall accounte, if ther came loss (as he now saw was like), seeing Mr. *Allerton* laid downe this course, and put them on this projecte. But for *the fishing ship*, he tould them they need not be so much troubled, for he had her accounts here, and showed them that her *first setting* out came not much to exceed 600*li.* as they might see by the accounte, which he showed them; and for *this later viage*, it would arrise to profite by the *fraight* of the goods, and the salle of some katle which he shiped and had allready sould,[2] and was to be paid for partly here and partly by bills into England, so as they should not have this put on their acounte at all, except they [178][3] would. And for *the former*, he had sould so much goods out of her in England, and imployed the money in *this ·2· viage*, as it, togeither with shuch goods and implements as *Mr. Allerton must need aboute his fishing*, would rise to a good parte of the money; for he must have the sallt and nets, allso spikes, nails, etc.; all which would

[1] By this it appears that Mr. Allerton and Hatherley arrive in the spring or summer of 1631. Mr. Hatherley arrived in the *Friendship* at Boston, July 14, 1631. Mr. Allerton arrived in the *White Angel* at the Massachusetts Bay, July 22, 1631. The *Friendship* sails from Boston for Christopher Isle on July 29, 1631. The *White Angel* sets sail from Boston for New Plymouth, but hindered by contrary winds, and a week after runs ashore at the Gurnet's Nose; and no doubt Mr. Allerton and Hatherley go to New Plymouth in her. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS. "The White Angel fell down for Plymouth," July 30. Winthrop, I. *59.

[2] Winthrop says she landed at Boston twenty-one heifers. *History*, I. *59.

[3] 177 is omitted in MS.

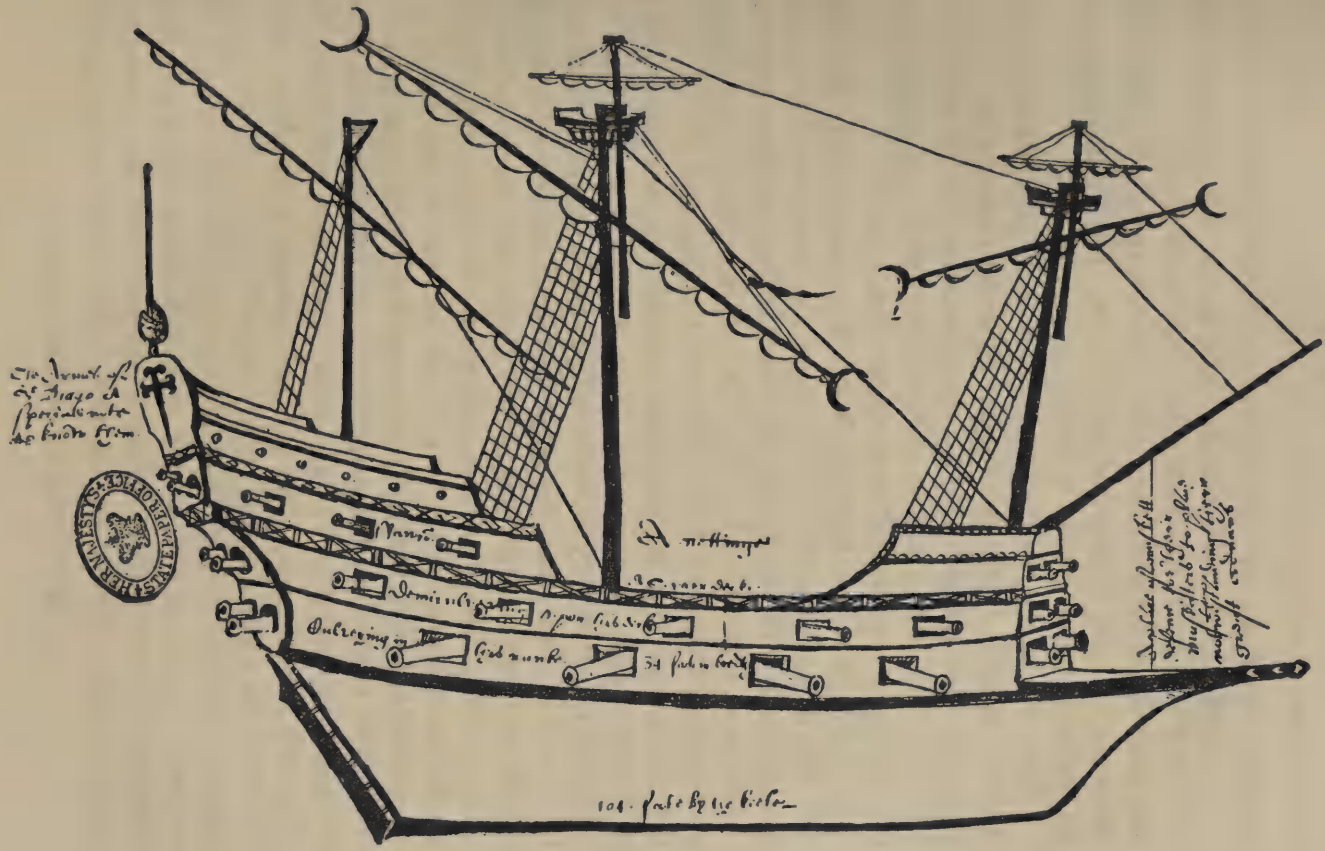
rise to nere 400*li.*; so, with the bearing of their parts of the rest of the loses (which would not be much above 200*li.*),[1] they would clear them of this whole accounte.[2] Of which motion they were glad, not being willing to have any accounts lye upon them; but aboute *their trade*, which made them willing to harken therunto, and demand of Mr. *Hatherley* how he could make these good, if they should agree their unto, he tould them *he was sent over as their agente* and had this order from them, that whatsoever *he* and Mr. *Allerton* did togeather, they would stand to it; but they would not alow of what Mr. *Allerton* did alone, except they liked it; but if he did it alone, they would not gaine say it. Upon which they sould to *him* and Mr. *Allerton* all the rest of the goods, and gave them present possession of them; and a *writing* was made, and confirmed under both Mr. *Hatherleys* and Mr. *Allertons* hands, to the effecte afforesaide. And Mr. *Allertone*, being best aquainted with the people, sould away presenly all shuch goods as he had no need of for the fishing, as ·9· shallop sails, made of good new canvas, and the roads [3] for them being all new, with sundry shuch usefull goods, for ready beaver, by Mr. *Hatherleys* allowance. And thus they thought they had well provided for them selves. Yet they rebuked Mr. Allerton very much for runing into these courses, fearing the success of them.

Mr. *Allerton* and Mr. *Hatherley* brought to *the towne with them* (after he had sould what he could abroad) a great quantity of other goods besides trading comodities; as linen cloath, bedticks, stockings, tape, pins, ruggs, etc., and tould them they were to have them, if they would; but they tould Mr. *Allerton* that they had for-

[1] A formal paper limiting their liability to £200 passed between them and Allerton and Hatherley. See p. 128, *infra*.

[2] "Since [1627] they have made a salt worke, wherewith they preserve all the fish they take, and they have fraughted this yeare a ship of an hundred and forescore tun, living so well they desire nothing but more company, and what ever they take, returne commodities to the value." Smith, *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, *19.

[3] The cable of the killock, or small anchor.



bid him before for bringing any shuch on their accounte; it would hinder their trade and returnes. But *he* and Mr. *Hatherley* said, if they would not have them, they would sell them, them selves, and take corne for what they could not otherwise sell. They tould them they might, if they had order for it. The goods of one sorte and other came to upward of 500*li.*

After these things, Mr. Allerton wente to the ship aboute his bass fishing; and Mr. Hatherley, (according to his order,) after he tooke knowledg how things stood at the plantation, (of all which they informed him fully,) he then *desired a boate of them to goe and visite the trading houeses, both Kenebeck, and Ashley at Penobscote;* for so they in England had injoyned him. They accordingly furnished him with a boate and men for the viage, and aquainted him plainly and thorowly with all things; by which he had good contente and satisfaction, and saw plainly that Mr. *Allerton* plaid his owne game, and rane a course not only to the great wrong and detrimente of the plantation, who imployed and trusted him, but abused them in England also, in possessing them with prejudice against the plantation; as that they would never be able to repaye their moneys (in regard of their great charge), but if [179] they would follow his advice and projects, *he* and *Ashley* (being well supplyed) would quickly bring in their moneys with good advantage. Mr. *Hatherley* disclosed also a further projecte aboute the setting out of this ship, the *White angell;* how, she being well fitted with good ordnance, and known to have made a great fight at sea (when she belonged to Bristoll) and caried away the victory, they had agreed (by Mr. *Allerton's* means) that, after she had brought a fraight of goods here into the countrie, and fraight her selfe with fish, she should goe from hence to *Port of porte*,[1] and ther be sould, both ship, goods, and ordenance; and had, for this end, had speech with a factore of those parts, before hand, to whom she should have been consigned. But this was prevented at this time, (after it was known,) partly

[1] Oporto, called by the Dutch *Port a port.*



¶ By the King.

A Proclamation forbidding the disorderly Trading with the Saluages in New England in America, especially the furnishing of the Natiues in those and other parts of America by the English with Weapons, and Habiliments of Warre.

WHereas a Proclamation was heretofore published by Our deare Father King IAMES of blessed memorie, in the twentieth yeere of His Reigne, for the better supportation and Reglement of the Plantations within Our Territory of New England in America, whereby, amongst diuers other things, the insufferable abuses committed by diuers Interloping and irregular Merchants, and disobedient Fishermen and Mariners, were prohibited, who seeking only their present and priuate profit, did Trade with the Saluages of that Countrey, and to the great preiudice and danger of Our louing Subiects the Planters there, did Barter away to the Saluages, Swords, Pikes, Muskets, Fowling Pieces, Match, Powder, Shotte, and other Warlike Armes, Weapons, and Munition, and teach them the vse thereof, not onely to their owne present ruine (diuers of them hauing been slaughtered by the barbarous people with their owne weapons formerly sold by them) but also to the great hazard of the liues of the English already, planted there, and to the apparant destruction of that hopefull Plantation.

Wee, being informed that these abuses are still continued to the indangering of that Plantation, and that the like abuses are also practised in other Forreigne Plantations: Out of Our Princely care for the prosperity of these Colonies, which being well gouerned may be of great vse to this Nation, for the reformation and preuention of these and the like enormities for the future.

And to the end that the Royal Grant of Our late Father to the President and Counsell of New England aforesayd, may bee maintained and vpholden, and that the Planters there, and aduenturers thither, may bee encouraged by all good wayes and meanes to proceede in their worthy designes, haue thought it fit, and doe hereby straitly charge and command, That none of Our Subiects whatsoeuer (who are not Aduenturers, Inhabiters, or Planters, authorised by Our President and Counsell for New England, according to the sayd Letters Patents) doe presume from henceforth to frequent those Coasts to Trade or Traffique at all with the Native people of those Countreys, or to intermeddle with the Woods, or Grounds of any of the Planters, or English Inhabitants there, otherwise then by the Licence of the sayd President and Counsell, or for the necessary vse of their Fishing on those Coasts, in which case of Fishing, or vnder colour thereof, they are not to vse any Trade or Traffique there, nor to challenge any Right to the Soyle there, or the Woods growing or being thereon, and especially wee doe charge and command, that neither any Interlopers, Fisher men, or Farmers, or any other of Our Subiects whatsoeuer, being of the said Company of New England or otherwise, doe at any time hereafter dare to Sell, Barter, or any wayes to deliuer or conuey vnto any of the Saluages or Natiues of America, where any of Our English Colonies are or shall bee planted, any Weapons or Habiliments of Warre of any kinde whatsoeuer, or to teach them or any of them the vse of Gunnes, or how to make or amend them, or any thing belonging to them, vpon paine of Our high indignation, and the Confiscation, Penalties and Forfeitures expressed in the said Royall Graunt of Our sayd Father, wherein Wee shall proceede against those who haue offended, or shall offend in any of the premisses, in such manner and measure as the qualitie of their Offences shall deserue. And yet further Wee leaue it to the discretion of the said President & Counsell for New England, and to other the Gouernours and Counsell in any other Forreigne English Colonie in their seuerall places respectiuely, to proceede against the Offenders in any the kindes aforesaid, according to the powers already granted vnto them, and according to Our Lawes in that behalfe.

Giuen at Our Court at Whitehall, the foure and twentieth day of Nouember, in the sixt yeere of Our Reigne of Great Britaine, France and Ireland.

God saue the King.

¶ Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie: and by the Assignes of Iohn Bill. 1630.

by the contrary advice given by their freinds hear to Mr. *Allerton* and Mr. *Hatherley*, showing how it might insnare their friends in England, (being men of estate,) if it should come to be knowne; and for the plantation, they did and would disalow it, and protest against it;[1] and partly by their bad viage, for they *both came too late to doe any good for fishing*, and allso had *shuch a wicked and drunken company* as neither Mr. *Allerton* nor any else could rule; as Mr. *Hatherley*, to his great greefe and shame, saw, and beheld, and all others that came nere them.

Ashley likwise was taken in a trape, (*before Mr. Hatherley returned*),[2] for trading powder and shote with the Indeans; and was ceased upon by some in authoritie, who allso would have confiscated above a thousand weight of beaver; but the goods were freed, for the Gov[erno]r here made it appere, by a bond under Ashleys hand, wherin he was bound to them in 500*li.* not to trade any munition with the Indeans, or other wise to abuse him selfe; it was allso manifest against him that he had commited uncleannes with Indean women,[3] (things that they feared at his first implyment, which made them take this strict course with him in the beginning); so, to be shorte, they gott their goods freed, but he was sent home prisoner. And that I may make an end concerning him, after some time of imprisonmente in the Fleet,[4] by the means of friends he was set at liberty,[5] and intended to come over againe, but the

[1] See p. 122, *infra*.

[2] That is, before Mr. Hatherly returned in the New Plymouth boat from Kennebeck and Penobscut in August, 1631. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

[3] The records do not show what punishment fell upon adultery, whether with English or Indian, but probably it was whipping. In Massachusetts Bay the question came before the Court of Assistants in September, 1631, and showed the doubt in the minds of the magistrates. A "severe whipping" was inflicted, but a question of punishment by death was raised and became a law, as well in Massachusetts as later in New Plymouth and the Connecticut plantations. *Mass. Col. Rec.*, I. 91, 92.

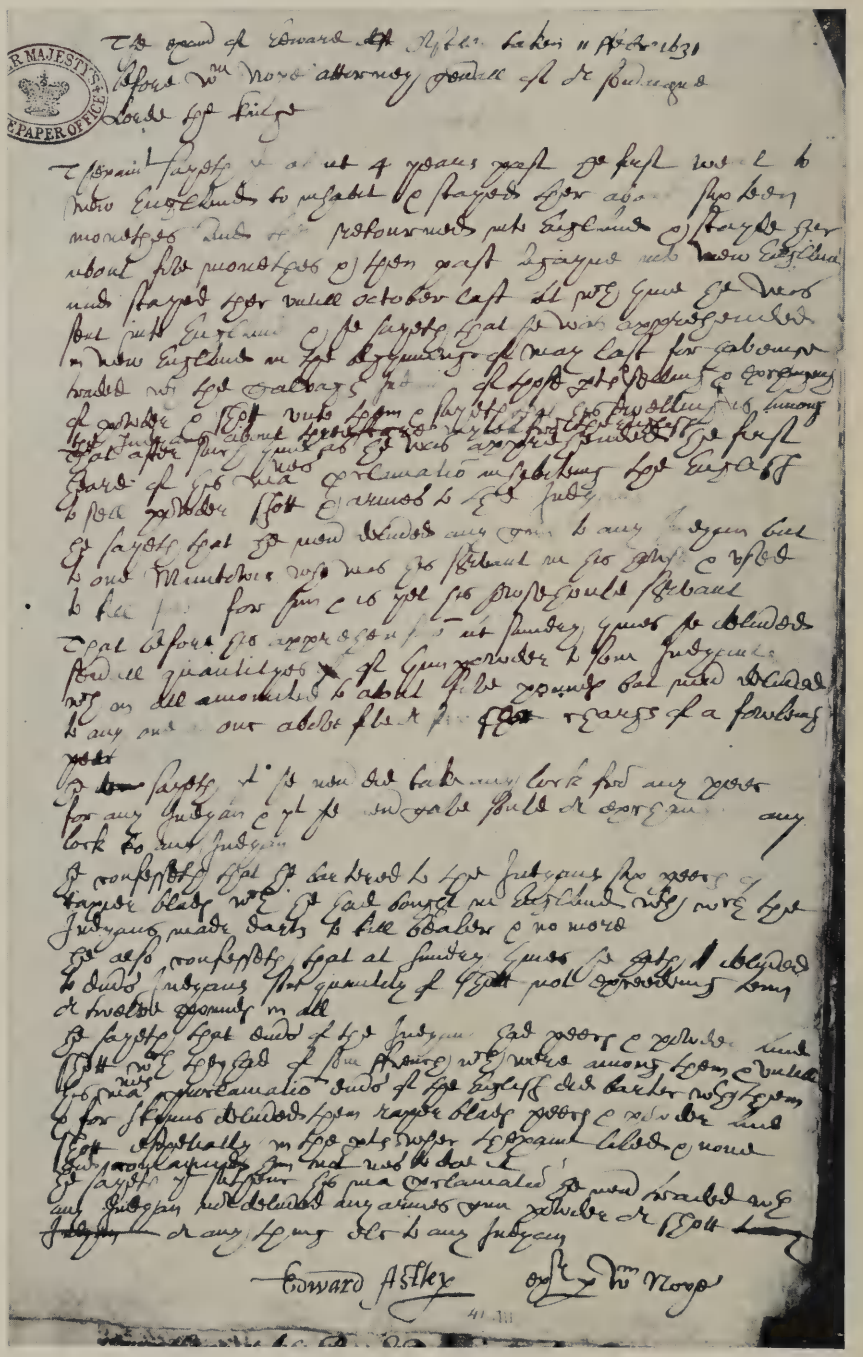
[4] "So called of the Fleet or Water running by it, and sometime flowing about it, but now vaulted ouer." Stowe, *Survey of London* (Kingsford), II. 40.

[5] In the P. R. O., *America and West Indies*, VI. (1632), are some papers recording the

Lord prevented it; for he had a motion made to him, by some marchants, to goe into Russia, because he had shuch good skill in the beaver trade, the which he accepted of, and in his returne home was cast away at sea; this was his end.

testimony taken against Ashley for his alleged misconduct while at the trading house at Penobscot. This testimony, taken before Captain Walter Neale and his deputy, Captain Henry Keye, in July, 1631, was clear and consistent. The witnesses, John Deacon, Henry Sampson, George Watson, Oliver Callow, and James L—— (his name is not filled in), told of Ashley's bartering guns, gun locks, shot, powder, bar lead, and rapier points with the Indians for skins. He pursued this course after he had received warnings from Captain Neale and the Governor of New Plymouth not to trade either arms or ammunition. He had even loaned arms to Indians in return for furs. Some of these witnesses, being servants, could only give hearsay testimony, and the two principal witnesses were William Phipps and Thomas Willett. Phipps may have been connected with the James Phipps, the gunsmith from Bristol, who is said to have settled at Penobscot in 1638, but no authority for the date is given. He spoke with positive knowledge of the craft when he told how Ashley "would haue put a loke on an Indians peece which he tooke of his owne to that purpose but finding he could not make it fitt notwithstanding with some pin or parte thereof he mended the Indians peece." Phipps had actually seen Ashley sell shot and powder to natives, lead and rapier blades. Thomas Willett, associated as he was with Ashley, could bear even more weighty testimony. Not only had he seen the sale of lead and the loan of a gun, but when upon one occasion Ashley went to New Plymouth he gave order to Willett "to sell what powder he could to the naetives," which Willett refused to do, and advertised his associate of the danger involved. This testimony is printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XLV. 493. The arrest of Ashley was ordered, and he was sent to England at the behest of the Council for New England, which, not having power of its own, laid his case before the Privy Council, praying for his "exemplary punishment." They committed him to the Fleet pending an inquiry, and referred his case to William Noye, the Attorney General. Ashley's examination, taken February 11, 1631–32, was recorded as follows:

"The examinant sayeth that about 4 years past he first went to New England to inhabit, and stayed ther about sixteen monethes and then retourned into England and stayde ther about five monethes and then past agayne into New England and stayed ther untill October last at which tyme he was sent into England and he sayeth that he was apprehended in New England in the byginning of May last for haveinge traded with the Salvages Indians of those parts and selling and exchanging of powder and shott unto them and sayeth that his dwelling is among the Indyans about three score myles from the Englishe. That after such tyme as he was apprehended he first heard of his Majesties proclamation inhibiting the English to sell powder shott and armes



EDWARD ASHLEY, 1631

Mr. *Hatherley*, fully understanding the state of all things, had good satisfaction, and could well informe them how all things stood between Mr. *Allerton* and the plantation. Yea, he found that Mr. *Allerton* had gott within him, and [180] got all the goods into his owne hands, for which Mr. *Hatherley* stood joyntly ingaged to them hear, aboute the ship-*Freindship*, as also most of the fraigte money, besides some of his owne perticuler estate; about which more will appear here after. So *he returned into England*,[1] *and they*

to the Indyans he sayeth that he neuer deliuered any gun to any Indyans but to one Muntowes who was his servant in his howse and vsed to kill fowle for him and is yet his howsehold servant.

"That before his apprehension at sundry tymes he deliuered seuerall quantityes of Gunpowder to some Indyans which in all amounted to about fiue poundes but neuer deliuered to any one at onc above five or six shott charges of a fowling peec.

"He sayeth that he neuer did take any lock from any peec for any Indyan and that he neuer gave sould or exchanged any lock to any Indyan.

"He confesseth that he bartered to the Indyans six peeces of rapier blades which he had bought in England with which the Indyans made dartes to kill beaver and no more.

"He also confesseth that at sundry tymes he hath deliuered to divers Indyans some quantity of shott not exceeding tenn or twelve poundes in all.

"He sayeth that diuers of the Indyans had peeces and powder and shott which they had of som French which were among them and vntill his majesties proclamation diuers of the English did barter with them and for skinns deliuered them raper blades peeces and powder and shott especially in the partes wher thexaminant lived and none did comaund him not to doe it.

"He sayeth that sithence his majesties proclamation he neuer traded with any Indyan nor deliuered any armes gun powder or shott or any thing els to any Indyan." Gay Transcripts (MS).

Upon the same day, the Attorney General reported that "before the proclamation of restraynt it was as he [Ashley] sayeth a common vse and sithence he hath forborne it. If nothing els be done it may be convenuent that he give caution not to furnish them any more." On February 17 the Privy Council determined: "It appeared not that any of the said offences were comitted since the said Proclamation, which howeuer it did not iustifie the said Fact the same being in it selfe vnlawfull though noe such Proclamation had beene, yet for that it doth in parte extenuate the same. And for that the said Ashley hath alreadie suffered imprisonment for the said offence, it was thought fitt and ordered, that he should be discharged vpon Bond entered into before the Clerke of the Counsell Attendant, not to offend in the lyke kind hereafter." *Acts of the Privy Council* (Colonial), 1613–1680, 173.

[1] 1631, September 6. The *White Angel* set sail from Boston to Marble Harbour;

sente a good quantity of beaver with him to the rest of the partners; so both he and it was very wellcome unto them.[1]

Mr. Allerton followed his affaires, and returned with his White Angell, being no more imployed by the plantation; but these bussinesses were not ended till many years after, nor well understood of a longe time, but foulded up in obscuritie, and kepte in the clouds, to the great loss and vexation of the plantation, who in the end were (for peace sake) forced to bear the unjust burthen of them, to their allmost undoing, as will appear, if God give life to finish this history.

They sent their letters also by Mr. Hatherley to the partners ther, to show them how Mr. Hatherley and Mr. Allerton had discharged them of the Friendships accounte, and that they boath affirmed that the White-Angell did not at all belong to them; and therfore desired that their accounte might not be charged therwith. Also they write to Mr. Winslow, their agente, that he in like maner should (in their names) protest against it, if any shuch thing should be intended, for they would never yeeld to the same. As allso to signifie to them that they renounsed Mr. Allerton wholy, for being their agente, or to have any thing to doe in any of their bussines.

This year John Billinton the elder (one that came over with the first) was arrained, and both by grand and petie jurie found guilty of willfull murder,[2] by plaine and notorious evidence. And

and so, with Mr. Allerton and Mr. Hatherly to Bristoll, where they arrive before November 16, 1631, as appears from Mr. Edward Winslow's letter of November, and Mr. Sherley's of November 19, 1631, pp. 182, 183 [p. 121, *infra*]. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

[1] See account of sales, p. 33, *supra*, although that paper may refer to a cargo by an earlier and unnoted voyage of the *White Angel*.

[2] "In the generall Assise there are vsually many Iuries, bicause there be store of causes both ciuil and criminall commonly to be tried, whereof one is called the Grand Iury, and the rest petit Iuries: whereof it seemeth there should be one for euery Hundred." Cowell, *The Interpreter*, 1607. The grand jury consisted of twenty-four grave and substantial gentlemen, or some of them yeomen, chosen indifferently out of the whole shire by the sheriff, to consider all bills of indictment preferred to the court.

was for the same accordingly executed.[1] This, as it was the first execution amongst them, so was it a mater of great sadnes unto them. They used all due means about his triall, and tooke the advice of Mr. Winthrop and other the ablest gentle-men in the [Bay] of the Massachusets,[2] that were then new-ly come over,[3] who concured

They either approved, by writing upon the paper "billa vera," or disallowed, by writing "ignoramus." If the case touched life and death, it was referred to another jury to be considered. The petit jury consisted of twelve men at the least, empanelled to pass upon criminal as well as civil causes. "Those that passe vpon offences of life and death, doe bring in their verdict either *guiltie* or not *guiltie*, wherevpon the prisoner, if he be found guiltie, is said to be conuicted, and so afterward receaueth his iudgment and condemnation: or otherwise is acquited and sett Free." Cowell, *Ib.* *See* vol. I. p. 192.

The same author defines murder "in our common lawe," as "a wilfull and felonious killing of any other vpon prepensed malice. . . . And prepensed malice is here either expresse or implyed: expresse, when it may be euidently proued, that there was formerly some euill will [:] implyed: when one killeth another sodainly, hauing nothing to defend himselfe."

[1] Hubbard gives the fullest account of this matter: "When the world was first peopled, and but one family to do that, there was yet too many to live peaceably together; so when this wilderness began first to be peopled by the English, where there was but one poor town, another Cain was found therein, who maliciously slew his neighbor in the field, as he accidentally met him, as himself was going to shoot deer. The poor fellow perceiving the intent of this Billington, his mortal enemy, sheltered himself behind trees as well as he could for a while; but the other, not being so ill a marksman as to miss his aim, made a shot at him, and struck him on the shoulder, with which he died soon after. The murtherer expected that, either for want of power to execute for capital offences, or for want of people to increase the Plantation, he should have his life spared; but justice otherwise determined, and rewarded him, the first murtherer of his neighbor there, with the deserved punishment of death, for a warning to others." *General History of New England*, 101. Hutchinson considers the question of their power to inflict capital punishment in his *History*, II. 464. Morton makes a scoffing remark about "Ould Woodman (that was choaked at Plimmouth after hee had played the unhappy Markes man when he was pursued by a carelesse fellow that was new come into the Land,)" thus reversing the attack. *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 216. Winthrop (I. *36) gives the time of execution in September or October. This was the second hanging on the territory of New Plymouth. *See* vol. I. p. 291 *n.*

[2] Winthrop mentions the execution, but is silent upon having been consulted.

[3] "We have certaine newes of my fathers safe arrivall in N: E: the 13 of June, by a

with them that he ought to dye, and the land to be purged from blood. He and some of his had been often punished for miscariages before, being one of the profanest families amongst them. They came from London, and I know not by what freinds shufled into their company.[1] His facte, was, that he way-laid a yong-man, one John New-comin, (about a former quarell,) and shote him with a gune, wherof he dyed.[2]

Having by a providence a letter or to that came to my hands concerning the proceedings of their Re[veren]d freinds in the Bay of the Massachusets, who were latly come over, I thought it not amise here to inserte them,[3] (so farr as is pertenente, and may be usefull for after times,) before I conclude this year.

Sir: Being at Salem the 25 of July, being the saboath, after the evening exercise, Mr. Johnson [4] received a letter from the Gov[erno]r, Mr. John Winthrop, manifesting the hand of God to be upon them, and against them, at Charles-towne, in visiting them with

shippe that came to Bristoll from the plantation in New Plimmouth. We doe dayly expect more shippes." *Forth Winthrop to John Winthrop, Jr.* [1630], 5 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VIII. 197. Fifteen days after Samuel Fuller was in the Massachusetts on an errand of mercy, and met Winthrop, of whom he said, "The Governour is a godly, wise and humble gentleman, and very discreet, and of a fine and good temper."

[1] Billington had been a troublesome freeman upon more than one occasion. In March, 1621, he was "convented before the whole Company for his Contempt of the Captain's [Standish] lawful Command with opprobrious Speeches: for which he is adjudged to have his Neck and Heels tied together: but upon Humbling himself and craving Pardon, and it being the first Offence, He is forgiven." Prince, 103, who took the entry from Bradford's *Register*. Billington was also mixed up with Lyford to some extent, though he denied it when brought to an examination (vol. I. p. 395). Oldham was guilty of the same fault in 1624, of falling out with the Captain (vol. I. p. 384). A son, Francis Billington, was fined in 1638, "for drinking tobaccoe in the heighway." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 106; also II. 81.

[2] This paragraph was written on the reverse of page 179 of the original manuscript.

[3] Both letters are to be found in Bradford's *Letter Book*, 75, 76.

[4] Isaac Johnson, who came with his wife, the Lady Arbella, in the Winthrop party. It was under his direction that some from Charlestown came to the peninsula of Shawmut and laid out Boston. Winthrop, I. *34. Prince, *New England Chronology*, I. 249; II. 1. He died in September, 1630.

sicknes, and taking diverse from amongst them, not sparing the righteous, but partaking with the wicked in these bodily judgments.[1] It was therfore by his desire taken into the Godly consideration of the best hear, what was to be done to pacifie the Lords wrath, etc.[2] Wher [when] it was concluded, that the Lord was to be sought in

[1] Winthrop is silent upon the sickness that broke out among his company on landing, the almost inevitable visitation of scurvy after the ocean voyage. Prince, quoting from some records now lost, calls attention to it: "But having had a long passage, some of the ships seventeen, some eighteen weeks a coming, many people arrive sick of the scurvy, which increases for want of houses, and by reason of wet lodging in their cottages, having no fresh food to cherish them. And though the people are very pitiful and loving, yet the sickness with other distempers so prevails, that the well are not able to tend them. Upon which many die, and are buried about the Hill; yet it was admirable to see with what christian courage many carry it amidst these calamities." Prince, 242. Dudley is quite as pointed, for he speaks not only of the sickness and heavy loss suffered in the first year of the Salem settlement, but also of the fact of "many of our people brought with us beeing sick of Feavers and the scurvy and wee thereby unable to cary up our ordinance and baggage soe farr." This led to a dispersal of the company, and some months passed before the larger number again came together. Nor does Winthrop list the earlier deaths in the company. Dudley mentions the wife of William Pynchon, the wife of Rev. George Phillips, Mary (Moseley), wife of William Coddington, and the wife of George Alcock. The sickness must have been particularly fatal to the women of the party, but Dudley asserts that many "dyed weekely, yea, almost dayley."

As upon an earlier occasion Samuel Fuller went to minister to the needs of the sick, and again he discussed questions of church government. He went to Matapan [Dorchester] where he found Rev. John Warham and "let some twenty of these people blood; I had conference with them, till I was weary. Mr. Warham holds that the visible church may consist of a mixed people, godly and openly ungodly; upon which point we had all our conference, to which, I trust, the Lord will give a blessing. Here is come over, with these gentlemen, one Mr. Phillips (a Suffolk man), who hath told me in private, that if they will have him stand minister, by that calling which he received from the prelates in England, he will leave them. . . . We have some privy enemies in the bay (but blessed be God) more friends; the Governour hath had conference with me, both in private and before sundry others; opposers there is not wanting, and Satan is busy; but if the Lord be on our side who can be against us; the Governour hath told me he hoped we will not be wanting in helping them, so that I think you will be sent for." *Fuller to Bradford*, June 28, 1630. *Bradford Letter Book*, 74.

[2] The omitted words were: "and they would do nothing without our advice, I mean these members of our church, there known unto them, viz. Mr. Fuller, Mr. Allerton and myself, requiring our voices, as their own."

righteousnes; and to that end, the ·6· day (being Friday) of this present weeke,[1] is set aparte, that they may humble them selves before God, and seeke him in his ordenances; and that then also shuch godly persons that are amongst them, and known each to other, may publickly, at the end of their exercise, make known their Godly desire, and practise the same, viz. solemnly to enter into [181] covenante with the Lord to walke in his ways. And since they are so disposed of in their outward estates, as to live in three distinct places,[2] each having men of abilitie amongst them, ther to observe the day, and become ·3· distincte bodys; not then intending rashly to proceed to the choyce of officers, or the admitting of any other to their societie then a few, to witte, shuch as are well knowne unto them; promising after to receive in shuch by confession of faith, as shall appeare to be fitly qualified for that estate.[3] They doe ernestly entreate that the church of Plimoth would set apparte the same day, for the same ends, beseeching the Lord, as to withdraw his hand of correction from them, so also to establish and direct them in his wayes. And though the time be shorte, we pray you be provocked to this godly worke, seing the causes are so urgente; wherin God will be honoured, and they and we undoubtedly have sweete comforte. Be you all kindly saluted, etc.

Your brethren in Christ, etc.[4]

Salem, July 26. 1630.

Sir, etc.[5] The sadd news here is, that many are sicke, and many

[1] Friday, July 30.

[2] Prince believes the three places were Charlestown, Dorchester [Matapan] and Salem.

[3] "And as they desired to advise with us, so do they," etc.

[4] Signed by Samuel Fuller and Edward Winslow, but evidently written by Winslow. The connection of Allerton with discussions on religious governance is not without significance, showing the impression made by the address of the man upon those of the Winthrop settlement.

[5] The opening sentences of this letter gave intelligence received from England on July 31, by a vessel belonging to Thomas Hewson, probably the *Thomas and William*, William Bundock of Wapping, master. This intelligence ran: "that the plague is sore, both in the city and country, and that the University of Cambridge is shut up by reason thereof; also, that there is like to be a great dearth in the land by reason of a dry season. The Earl of Pembroke is dead, and Bishop Laud is Chancellor of

are dead; the Lord in mercie looke upon them. Some are here entered into church covenante,[1] the first were ·4· namly, the Gov[erno]r, Mr. John Winthrop, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Willson;[2] since that ·5· more are joyned unto them, and others, it is like, will adde them selves to them dayly; the Lord increase them, both in number and in holines for his mercie sake.[3] Here is a gentleman, one

Oxford; and that five sundry ministers are to appear before the High Commission, amongst whom, Mr. Cotton, of Boston, is one." *Bradford Letter Book.*

[1] The church covenant then framed and signed by the four is given in Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, I. 114. The form is such that the Separatists could have used it without violence to any of their principles, and it is possible the words reproduce, in whole or in a modified phraseology, a covenant in force in New Plymouth. Separatist and Puritan had never disagreed upon the essentials underlying their protests against the conduct of the English bishops and the practices such conduct sought to impose upon the recalcitrant. Both held that in the Bible must be sought the will of God. This covenant read as follows: "We, whose names are here underwritten, being by his most wise and good providence brought together into this part of America, in the Bay of Massachusetts; and desirous to unite into one congregation or church, under the Lord Jesus Christ, our head, in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed, and sanctified to himself, do hereby solemnly and religiously, as in his most holy presence, promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the Gospel, and in all sincere conformity to his holy ordinances, and in mutual love and respect to each other, so near as God shall give us grace."

[2] Of Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley and Rev. John Wilson ample notice will be taken in Winthrop's *History*.

[3] On August 27, Winthrop writes (I. *30): "We, of the congregation, kept a fast, and chose Mr. [John] Wilson our teacher, and Mr. [Increase] Nowell an elder, and Mr. [William] Gager and Mr. [William] Aspinwall, deacons. We used imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all, that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England."

"The church at New-Plymouth was as I am informed, one of the first churches that was settled in New-England, having been a part of Mr. Robinsons church in Holland, that famous Brownist, from whence they brought their church-opinions and practises; and which they there still hold without any alteration, so far as ever I could learn. Master W[inslow?] an eminent man of the church at Plymouth, told W. R[athband] that the rest of the churches of New England came at first to them at Plymouth, to crave their direction in church courses, and made them their patern." Rathband, *Brief Narration*, I.

The account of the "order of teaching in Salem," contained in Smith's book, is to

Mr. Cottington,[1] (a Boston Man,) who tould me, that Mr. Cottons[2] charge at Hamton was, that they should take advise of them at

all appearances based upon writings received from the settlers. "They have Preachers erected among themselves, and Gods true Religion (they say) taught amongst them, the Sabbath day observed, the common Prayer (as I understand) and Sermons performed, and diligent catechizing, with strict and carefull exercise, and commendable good orders to bring those people with whom they have to deale withall into a Christian conversation, to live well, to feare God, serve the King, and love the Country; which done, in time from both those Plantations may grow a good addition to the Church of England." That is, he favored the recognizing the prime authority of the Church of England. *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, *33.

"Some could not endure the name of a Bishop, others not the sight of a Crosse nor Surplesse, others by no meanes the booke of common Prayer. This absolute crue, only of the Elect, holding all (but such as themselves) reprobates and castawaies, now make more haste to return to *Babel*, as they tearmed *England*, than stay to enjoy the land they called Canaan; somewhat they must say to excuse themselves. Those he [Winthrop] found Brownists, hee let goe for *New-Plimoth*, who are now betwixt foure or five hundred, and live well without want." *Ib.* *29.

[1] William Coddington was born in 1601, in Boston, Lincolnshire. With others of that county he refused to lend money to the King in 1627, and being summoned before



the Commissioners repeated his refusal. When threatened with the royal high displeasure he remained firm, and would not give bond for his appearance before the Privy Council. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XXXVI. 140. Shortly after the death of his wife in 1630, he returned to England in the *Lion*, where he married Mary ——, and brought her to New England in 1633. For three years (1634–36) he served as treasurer of the colony, but becoming involved with the minority in what was known as the antinomian controversy, he removed to Rhode Island, where he had an eventful and honorable career. Turner, *William Coddington in Rhode Island Colonial Affairs*.

[2] The Reverend John Cotton, then vicar of St. Botolph's Church at Boston, in Lincolnshire, accompanied his friends to Southampton, as they were to embark in Winthrop's fleet for New England, and there preached a farewell sermon, which was published by John Humfrey in the same year, entitled "God's Promise to his Plantation." DEANE. *See* Mead in 3 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XLI. 101, and Gay, in *Ib.* XLIII. 503. It is of the same nature as that given by John Robinson at Delftshaven, in favor of union rather than division. See vol. I. p. 130.

It is a curious coincidence that in the first part of his letter Fuller tells of Cotton's being summoned to appear before the Court of High Commission.

Plimoth, and should doe nothing to offend them.[1] Here are diverce honest Christians that are desirous to see us, some out of love which they bear to us, and the good perswasion they have of us; others to see whether we be so ill as they have heard of us. We have a name of holines, and love to God and his saincts; the Lord make us more and more answerable, and that it may be more then a name, or els it will doe us no good. Be you lovingly saluted, and all the rest of our friends. The Lord Jesus blese us, and the whole Israll of God. Amen.

Your loving brother, etc.[2]

Charles-towne, Aug. 2. 1630.

Thus out of smalle beginings greater things have been produced by his hand that made all things of nothing, and gives being to all things that are; and as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many, yea in some sorte to our whole nation; let the glorious name of Jehova have all the praise. [182] [3]

[1] This single sentence was not contained in this letter of August 2, but in an earlier letter from Fuller, dated June 28, 1630. *Bradford Letter Book*. The insertion offers an example of the manner in which Bradford prepared his material.

[2] Signed "your loving brother in law, Samuel Fuller."

[3] "I grant Colonies are best undertaken by Princes, assisted with the strength of a whole State: yet what may be done in Colonies by private persons, the Dutch have discovered in part already in their Plantation in *New-England*, and may (by Gods blessing) in short time appeare in this lately undertaken Colonie of the English in the same Country: Of which we have reason to be somewhat the more confident by the experience of our bordering neighbours of New-Plimmouth, who (notwithstanding they were men of weake estate, and encountred many disasters in their first arrivall, and since in some of their adventures homewards,) are growne up into a good firme compacted body, living and subsisting though not in a flourishing estate, yet in a good convenient and comfortable condition." White, *The Planters Plea* (1630), *51.

Writing in 1630–31 of the Winthrop settlement, Captain John Smith thus spoke of that at Plymouth: "I meane not the Brownists of *Leyden* and *Amsterdam* at *New-Plimoth*, who although by accident, ignorance, and wilfulnesse, have indured with a wonderfull patience, many losses and extremities; yet they subsist and prosper so well, not any of them will abandon the Country, but to the utmost of their powers increase their numbers." *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England*, *2. He could have applied to those at Plymouth what he wrote in the same work

(*3) of the course of the Virginia Company towards its planters, whose "purses and lives were subject to some few here in *London* who were never there, that consumed all in Arguments, Projects, and their owne conceits, every yeere trying new conclusions, altering every thing yearely as they altered opinions."

Winthrop notes that the *Handmaid*, John Grant, master, arrived at Plymouth, October 29, 1630, having been twelve weeks at sea, and spent all her masts. She had about sixty passengers, "who came all well," but of twenty-eight heifers she landed only seventeen alive. On November 11 the vessel came to the Bay with Captain Standish and two gentlemen passengers, "who came to plant here, but having no testimony, we would not receive them." *History*, I. *37, 38. Dudley tells us that Morton of Mare-Mount was sent home to England in the *Handmaid*, and in December of this year. Some beaver was also sent home in her, but whether on Plymouth or on Bay account Morton does not state; but he does give a relation of the unseaworthiness of the ship and the hardships of the passage. *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 337, 342.

Anno Dom: ·1631·

ASHLEY being thus by the hand of God taken away, and Mr. *Allerton discharged of his imployemente for them*,[1] their bussines began againe to rune in one chanell, and them selves better able to guide the same, Penobscote being wholy now at their disposing.[2] And though Mr. *William* Peirce had a parte ther as is before noted,[3] yet now, as things stood, he was glad to have his money repayed him, and stand out. Mr. *Winslow*, whom they had sent over, sent them over some supply as soone as he could; and afterwards when he came, which was something longe by reason of bussines,[4] he brought a large supply of suitable goods with him, by which ther trading was well carried on.[5] But by no means either he, or the letters they write, could take off Mr. *Sherley* and the rest from putting both the *Friendship* and *Whit-Angell* on the generall accounte; which caused continuall contention betweene them, as will more appeare.

I shall inserte a leter of Mr. *Winslow's* about these things, being as foloweth.

SIR: It fell out by Gods providence, that I received and brought *your leters per Mr. Allerton from Bristoll, to London;* and doe much

[1] In August, 1631. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS. See p. 110, *supra*.

[2] This trading settlement was on a peninsula later known as Matchebiguatus, or by contraction, Bagaduce Point, at the mouth of the Penobscot. On the name see 1 *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, VI. 107.

[3] See p. 81, *supra*.

[4] Arriving at Boston on June 5, 1632. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS. Winslow came on the *William and Francis*.

[5] Winslow's purchases supplied a model for some purchasing for Governor Winthrop: "The cloth was provided by my brother Downeinge and Mr. Smith the tayler, and it is such as Master Winslow did buy heer to trucke with the natives." *Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.*, June 22, 1632. 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IX. 247.

feare what will be the event of things. Mr. *Allerton* intended to prepare the ship againe, to set forth upon *fishing*. Mr. *Sherley*, Mr. *Beachamp*, and Mr. *Andrews*, they renounce all perticulers, protesting but for us they would never have adventured one penie into those parts; Mr. *Hatherley* stands inclinable to either. And wheras *you write* that *he* and Mr. *Allerton* have taken the *Whit-Angell* upon them, for their partners here, they professe they neiver gave any shuch order, nor will make it good; [1] if them selves will cleare the accounte and doe it, all shall be well. What the evente of these things will be, I know not. The Lord so directe and assiste us, as he may not be dishonoured by our divissions. I hear (per a freind) that I was much blamed for speaking *with* [*what*] *I heard in the spring of the year*, concerning the buying and setting forth of *that ship*; [2] sure, if I should not have tould you what I heard so peremptor[i]ly reported (which report I offered now to prove at Bristoll), I should have been unworthy my imploymente. And concerning the *commission* so long since given to Mr. *Allerton*, the truth is, the thing we feared is come upon us; for Mr. *Sherley* and the rest have it, and will not deliver it, that being the ground of our agents credite to procure shuch great sumes. But I looke for bitter words, hard thoughts, and sower looks, from sundrie, as well for writing this, as reporting the former. I would I had a more thankfull imploymente; but I hope a good conscience shall make it comefortable, etc.

Thus farr he. Dated *Nov*[*ember*] 16. 1631.

The *comission* above said was given by them under their hand and seale, when Mr. *Allerton* was *first imployed* by them,[3] and *redemanded of him in the year·29· when they begane to suspecte his course*. He tould them it was amongst his papers, but he would seeke it out and give it them before he wente. But he being ready to goe, it was demanded againe. He said he could not find it, but it was amongst his papers, which he must take with him, [183] and

[1] See p. 102, *supra* and p. 123, *infra*.

[2] This was about the selling the ship in Spaine. — BRADFORD.

[3] See vol. I. p. 450.

he would send it by the boat from the eastward; but ther it could not be had neither, but he would seeke it up at sea. But whether Mr. *Sherly* had it before or after, it is not certaine; but having it, he would not let it goe, but keeps it to this day. Wherfore, even amongst freinds, men had need be carfull whom they trust, and not lett things of this nature lye long unrecaled.

Some parts of Mr. Sherley's letters aboute these things, in which the truth is best manifested.

Sir: *Yours I have received by our loving friends, Mr. Allerton and Mr. Hatherley*, who, blesed be God, *after a long and dangerous passage with the ship Angell, are safely come to Bristoll.* Mr. *Hatherley is come up*, but Mr. *Allerton I have not yet seen.* We thanke you, and *are very glad you have disswaded him from his Spanish viage*, and that he did not goe on in those designes he intended; for we did all uterly dislick of that course, as allso of the *fishing* that the *Freindship* should have performed; for we wished him to sell the salte, and were unwilling to have him undertake so much bussines, partly for the ill success we formerly had in those affairs, and partly being loath to disburse so much money. But he perswaded us this must be one way that must repay us, for the plantation would be long in doing of it; ney, to my rememberance, he doubted you could not be able, with the trade ther, to maintaine your charge and pay us. And for this very cause he brought us on that bussines with *Ed. Ashley*, for he was a stranger to us, etc.[1]

For the *fishing ship*, we are sorie it proves so heavie, and will be willing to bear our parts. What Mr. *Hatherley* and Mr. *Allerton* have done, no doubt but them selves will make good; we gave them no order to make any composition, to seperate you and us in this or any other. And I thinke you have no cause to forsake us, for we put you upon no new thing, but what your agent perswaded us to, and you by your

[1] As a trading operation the conduct of Sherley is apparently open to criticism. If the ability of the New Plymouth partners to pay their debts was questionable, how was the situation in this respect improved by establishing competition in that branch of trade whence they drew their largest profit?

letters desired. If he exceede your order, I hope you will not blame us, much less cast us of, when our moneys be layed out, etc. But I fear neither you nor we have been well delt withall, for sure, as you write, halfe 4000*li.*, nay, a quarter, in fitting comodities, and in seasonable time, would have furnished you beter then you were. And yet for all this, and much more I might write, *I dare not but thinke him honest, and that his desire and intente was good;* but the wisest may faile. Well, now that it hath pleased God to give us hope of meeting, doubte not but we will all indeavore to perfecte these accounts just and right, as soone as possibly we can. And I supposs *you sente over Mr. Winslow*, and *we Mr. Hatherley*, to certifie each other how the state of things stood. *We have received some contente upon Mr. Hatherley's returne*, and I *hope you will receive good contente upon Mr. Winslow's returne.* Now I should come to answer more perticulerly your letter, but herin I shall be very breefe. The coming of the *White Angele* on your accounte could not be more strang to you, then the *buying of her* was to us; for you gave him commission[1] that what he did you would stand too; we gave him none, and yet for his credite, and your sakes, payed what bills he charged on us, etc. For that I write she *was to acte tow parts, fishing and trade;* beleeve me, I never so much as thought of any perticuler trade, nor will side with any that doth, if I conceive it may wrong you; for I ever was against it, useing these words: They will eate up and destroy the generall.

Other things I omite as tedious, and not very pertenente. This was dated *Nov[embe]r* 19. 1631.

They were too shorte in resting on Mr. *Hatherley's* honest word, for his order to discharge them from the *Friendship's* accounte, when he and Mr. *Allerton* made the bargane with them, and they delivered them the rest of the goods; and therby gave them oppertunitie also to receive all the fraight of boath viages, without seeing an order (to have shuch power) under their hands in writing,

[1] This commission is abused; he never had any for shuch end, as they well knew, nether had they any to pay this money, nor would have paid a peny, if they had not pleased for some other respecte. — BRADFORD.

which they never doubted of, seeing he affirmed he had power; and they both knew his honestie, and that he was spetially imployed for their agente at this time. And he was as shorte in resting on a verball order from them; which was now denyed, when it came to a perticuler of loss; but he still affirmed the same. But they were both now taught how to deale in the world, espetially with marchants, in shuch cases. But in the end this light upon these here also, for Mr. *Allerton* had gott all into his owne hand, and Mr. *Hatherley* was not able to pay it, except they would have uterlie undon him, as the sequell will manifest.[1]

In an other leter bearing date the *·24· of this month*, being an answer to the generall leter, he hath these words: [184]

For the *White Angell*, against which you write so ernestly, and say we thrust her upon you, contrary to the intente of the buyer, herin we say you forgett your selves, and doe us wrong. We will not take uppon us to devine what the thougts or intents of the buyer was, but what he spack we heard, and that we will affirme, and make good against any that oppose it; which, is that *unles shee were bought, and shuch a course taken, Ashley could not be supplyed;* and againe, *if he weer not supplyed, we could not be satisfied what we were out for you.* And further, *you were not able to doe it;* and he gave some reasons which we spare to relate, unless by your unreasonable refusall you will force us, and so hasten that fire which is a kindling too fast allready, etc.

Out of another of his, bearing date Jan[uary] 2. 1631[–32] [2]

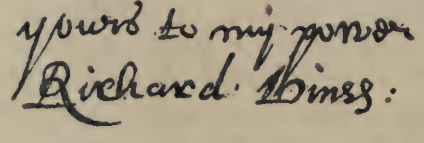
We purpose to keep the Freindship and the Whit Angell, for the last year viages, on the generall accounte, hoping togeither they will rather produse profite then loss, and breed less confution in our accounts, and less disturbance in our affections. As for the *White Angell*, though we layed out the money, and tooke bills of salle in our owne names, yet none of us had so much as a thought (I dare say) of deviding from you

[1] This paragraph is written on the reverse of page 182 of the manuscript.

[2] That is, January 2, 1631–32. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

in any thing *this year*, because we would not have the world (I may say *Bristoll*)[1] take notice of any breach betwixte Mr. *Allerton* and you, and he and us; and so disgrace him in his proceedings or in his intended viage. We have now let him the ship at 30*li.* per month, by charterpartie, and bound him in a bond of a 1000*li.* to performe covenants, and bring her to *London* (if God please). And what he brings in her for you, shall be marked with your marke, and bils of laden taken, and sent in *Mr. Winslows letter, who is this day riding to Bristoll about it.* So in this viage, we deale and are with him as strangers. He hath brought in ·3· books of acounts, one for the *company*, an other for *Ashley's* bussines, and the third for the *Whit-Angell* and *Freindship*. The books, or coppies, we purpose to send you, for you may discover the errours in them better than we. We can make it appear how much money he hath had of us, and you can charg him with all the beaver he hath had of you. The totall sume, as he hath put it, is 7103. 17. 1. Of this he hath expended, and given to Mr. *Vines*[2] and others, aboute 543*li.* ode money, and then by your books you will find whether you had shuch, and so much goods, as he chargeth you with all; and this is all that I can say at presente concerning these accounts. He thought to dispatch them in a few howers, but he and *Straton* and *Fogge*[3] were above a month aboute them; but *he could not stay till we had examined them, for losing his fishing viage, which I fear he hath allready done*, etc.

[1] Bristol was at this time not only an important manufacturing place, but ranked among the largest shipping ports of the kingdom. After the war with Spain, when the diplomacy of Charles and his successors had isolated England from the Continent, and so made her commerce a prey to the privateers of Dunkirk and the vessels of Spain (1658), the trade of the west of England was almost ruined, and Bristol alone had lost upwards of two hundred and fifty ships. Sherley recognized the importance of standing well with the shipmasters of that port.



[2] The patent to Oldham and Vines had been issued on February 13, 1629–30, and Vines took possession of his grant in June of that year. Probably his goods formed part of the "particular" cargo of the *White Angel*, and were delivered to Vines at Winter Harbor. See p. 100, *supra.*

[3] See p. 82, *supra.*

We blese God, who put both you and us in mind to send each to other, for verily had he rune on in that desperate and chargable course one year more, we had not been able to suport him; nay, both he and we must have lyen in the ditch, and sunck under the burthen, etc. *Had ther been an orderly course taken, and your bussines better managed, assuredly (by the blessing of God) you had been the ablest plantation that, as we think, or know, hath been undertaken by Englishmen, etc.*

Thus farr of these letters of Mr. Sherley. [185]

A few observations from the former letters, and then I shall set downe the simple truth of the things (thus in controversie betweene them), at least as farr as by any good evidence it could be made to appeare; and so laboure to be breefe in so tedious and intricate a bussines, which hunge in expostulation betweene them many years before the same was ended. That though ther will be often occasion to touch these things about other passages, yet I shall not neede to be large therin; doing it hear once for all.

1. First, it seemes to appere clearly that *Ashley's* bussines, and the buying of *this ship*, and the courses framed ther upon, were first contrived and proposed by Mr. *Allerton*, as also that the pleaes and pretences which he made, of the inab[i]litie of the plantation to repaye their moneys, etc., and the hopes he gave them of doing it with profite, was more beleeved and rested on by them (at least some of them) then any thing the plantation did or said.

2. It is like, though Mr. *Allerton* might thinke not to wrong the plantation in the maine, yet his owne gaine and private ends led him a side in these things; for it came to be knowne, and I have it in a letter under Mr. *Sherley's* hand, that in the first ·2· or ·3· years of his imploymente, he had cleared up 400*li.* and put it into a brew-house of Mr. *Colliers* in *London*,[1] at first under Mr. *Sherley's* name, etc.; besides what he might have other wise. Againe, Mr.

[1] There were many breweries in the city of London, and no one can be identified as belonging to Collier. What gives the name its interest is that it may be the Collier who was an adventurer in the company and later a resident in New Plymouth.

Sherley and he had perticuler dealings in some things; for he bought up the beaver that sea-men and other passengers brought over to *Bristoll*, and at other places, and charged the bills to *London*, which Mr. *Sherley* payed; and they got some time 50*li.* a peece in a bargen, as was made knowne by Mr. *Hatherley* and others, besides what might be other wise; which might make Mr. *Sherley* harken unto him in many things; and yet I beleeve, as he in his forementioned leter write, he never would side in any perticuler trade which he conceived would wrong the plantation, and eate up and destroy the generall.

3ly. It may be perceived that, seeing they had done so much for the plantation, both in former adventures and late disbursements, and allso that Mr. *Allerton* was the first occasioner of bringing them upon these new designes, which at first seemed faire and profitable unto them, and unto which they agreed; but now, seeing them to turne to loss, and decline to greater intangl[e]ments, they thought it more meete for the plantation to bear them, then them selves, who had bourne much in other things allready, and so tooke advantage of shuch *comission* and power as Mr. *Allerton* had formerly had as their agente, to devolve these things upon them.

4ly. *With pitie and compassion* (*touching Mr. Allerton*) *I may say with the apostle* to Timothy, 1. Tim. 6. 9. *They that will be rich fall into many temtations and snares, etc., and pearce them selves throw with many sorrows, etc.; for the love of money is the roote of all evill*, v. 10.[1] God give him to see the evill in his failings, that he may find mercie by repentance for the wrongs he hath done to any, and this pore plantation in spetiall.[2] They that doe shuch things doe not only bring them selves into snares, and sorrows, but many with them, (though in an other kind,) as lamentable experience shows; and is too manifest in this bussines.[3] [186]

[1] Neither the Genevan nor the King James version is here followed.

[2] A line of writing in the original manuscript has been obliterated at this place.

[3] The subsequent ill fortune of Allerton must have been known to Bradford at

Now about these ships and their setting forth, the truth, as farr as could be learned, is this. The motion aboute setting forth the *fishing ship* (caled the *Frindship*) came first from the plantation, and the reasons of it, as is before remembered;[1] but wholy left to them selves to doe or not to doe, as they saw cause. But when it fell into consideration, and the designe was held to be profitable and hopefull, it was propounded by some of them, why might not they doe it of them selves, seeing they must disburse all the money, and what need they have any refference to the plantation in that; they might take the profite them selves, towards other losses, and need not let the plantation share therin; and if their ends were other wise answered for their supplyes to come too them in time, it would be well enough. So they hired her, and set her out, and fraighted her as full as she could carry with passengers goods that belonged to the Massachussets, which rise to a good sume of money; intending to send the plantations supply in the other ship. The effecte of this Mr. *Hatherley* not only declared afterward upon occasion, but affirmed upon othe, taken before the Gov[erno]r and Dep[uty] Gov[erno]r of the Massachusets, Mr. *Winthrop* and Mr. *Dudley:* That this ship — *Freindship* —was not sett out nor intended for the joynt partnership of the plantations, but for the perticuler accounte of Mr. *James Sherley*, Mr. *Beachampe*, Mr. *Andrews*, Mr. *Allerton*, and *him selfe*. This deposition was taken at *Boston* the *29. of Aug*[*ust*], 1639. as is to be seen under their hands; besides some other concurente testimonies declared at severall times to sundrie of them.

the time of writing this entry. Because of his practices Allerton was discharged from any agency at New Plymouth. He was also disciplined by the church, and subjected to suits at law by those associated with him. Of his many business ventures none seem to have proved profitable, and his character suffered through his reverses. Their bearing towards him was characteristic of those composing the Plymouth plantation.

[1] Probably referring to the letter of September 8, 1623 (vol. I. p. 295), to which Allerton was a signer.

About the *Whit-Angell*, though she was first bought, or at least the price beaten,[1] by Mr. *Allerton* (at *Bristoll*), yet that had been nothing if Mr. *Sherley* had not liked it, and disbursed the money. And that she was not intended for the plantation appears by sundrie evidences; as, first, the bills of sale, or charterparties, were taken in their owne names, without any mention or refference to the plantation at all; viz. Mr. *Sherley*, Mr. *Beachampe*, Mr. *Andrews*, Mr. *Denison*,[2] and Mr. *Allerton;* for Mr. *Hatherley* fell off, and would not joyne with them in this. That she was not bought for their accounte, Mr. *Hatherley* tooke his oath before the parties afforesaid, the day and year above writen.

About the *Whit-Angell* they all mette at a certaine taverne in London, wher they had a diner prepared, and had conference with a factore aboute selling of her in Spaine, or at Port a porte, as hath been before mentioned; as Mr. Hatherley manifested, and Mr. Allerton could not deney.[3]

Mr. Allerton tooke his oath to like effecte concerning this ship, the *Whit-Angell*, before the Gov[erno]r and Deputie, the ·7· *of Sep*[*tember*], 1639. and likewise deposed, the same time, that Mr. *Hatherley* and *him selfe* did, in the behalfe of them selves and the said Mr. *Sherley*, Mr. *Andrews*, and Mr. *Beachamp*, agree and under take to discharge, and save harmles, all the rest of the partners and purchasers, of and from the said losses of [the] *Freindship* for 200*li*.,[4] which was to be discounted therupon; as by ther depossitions (which are in writing) may appeare more at large, and some other depositions and other testemonies by Mr. *Winslow*, etc.

[1] To chaffer for the lowest terms.

[2] William Denison, whose name is now mentioned for the first time, came to Massachusetts Bay in 1631, and settled in Roxbury. He was one of the most prominent members of John Eliot's church, but, during the so-called antinomian excitement of 1637, he was among the minority ordered to be disarmed. Later he brought suit against Allerton for this very venture, and recovered damages (p. 151, *infra*).

[3] This paragraph is written on the reverse of page 185 of the manuscript.

[4] See p. 104, *supra*.

But I suppose these may be sufficente to evince the truth in these things, against all pretences to the contrary. And yet the burthen lay still upon the plantation; or, to speake more truly and rightly, upon those few that were ingaged for all, for they were faine to wade through these things without any help from any.

Mr. Winslow deposed,[1] the same time, before the Gov[erno]r afore said, etc. that when he came into England, and the partners inquired of the success of the *Whit-Angell*, which should have been laden with bass and so sent for Port, of Porting-gall, and their ship and goods to be sould; having informed them that they were like to faile in their lading [2] of bass, that then Mr. James Sherly used these termes: Feck, we must make one accounte of all; and ther upon presed him, as agente for the partners in New-England, to accepte the said ship *Whit-Angell*, and her accounte, into the joynte partner-ship; which he refused, for many reasons; and after received instructions from New-Engl[and] to refuse her if she should be offered, which instructions he shewed them; and wheras he was often pressed to accept her, he ever refused her, etc.[3] [187]

Concerning Mr. *Allerton's* accounts, they were so large and intrecate, as they could not well understand them, much less examine and correcte them, without a great deale of time and help, and his owne presence, which was now hard to gett amongst them; and it was ·2· or ·3· years before they could bring them to any good pass, but never make them perfecte. I know not how it came to pass, or what misterie was in it, for he tooke upon him to make up all accounts till this time, though Mr. *Sherley* was their agente

[1] The General Court of Massachusetts was then in session. The General Court of Plymouth was sitting at the same time, but Winslow was not an assistant, and in all probability was at Boston at this time. This becomes all the more probable as he and the Governor were commissioners for New Plymouth on the boundary dispute, and, two days after Allerton made his statement, commissioners were named on the part of Massachusetts Bay.

[2] Bradford first wrote "expectation."

[3] A paragraph written on the reverse of page 185 of the manuscript.

to buy and sell their goods, and did more then he therin; yet he past in accounts in a maner for all disbursments, both concerning goods bought, which he never saw, but were done when he was hear in the cuntrie or at sea; and all the expences of the *Leyden people*, done by others in his absence; the charges aboute the *patente*, etc. In all which he made them debtore to him above 300*li.* and demanded paimente of it. But when things came to scaning, he was found above *200li.* debtore to them, (this wherin Mr. *Hatherley* and he being joyntly ingaged, which he only had, being included,) besides I know not how much that could never be cleared; and interest moneys which ate them up, which he never accounted. Also they were faine to alow shuch large bills of charges as were intolerable; *the charges of the patent came to above 500li.* and *yet nothing done in it but what was done at first without any confirmation;* 30*li.* given at a clape, and 50*li.* spent in a journey. No marvell therfore if Mr. *Sherley* said in his leter, if their bussines had been better managed, they might have been the richest plantation of any English at that time. Yea, he scrued up *his poore old father in laws*[1] accounte to *above 200li.* and brought it on the generall accounte, and to befreind him made most of it to arise out of those goods taken up by him at *Bristoll*, at 50*li.* per cent., because he knew they would never let it lye on the old man, when, alass! he, poore man, never dreamte of any shuch thing, nor that what he had could arise nere that valew; but thought that many of them had been freely bestowed on him and his children by Mr. *Allerton.* Nither in truth did they come nere the valew in worth, but that sume was blowne up by interest and high prises, which the company did for the most parte bear, (*he deserving farr more,*) being most sory that he should have a name to have much, when he had in effecte litle.

This year also Mr. *Sherley* sent over an accounte, which was in a maner but a cash-accounte what Mr. *Allerton* had had of them, and

[1] Elder William Brewster, whose daughter, Fear, Allerton married in 1626.

disbursed, for which he referd to his accounts; besides an account of *beaver* sould, which Mr. *Winslow* and *some others* had carried over, and *a large supply of goods which Mr. Winslow had sent and brought over*, all which was comprised in that accounte, and all the disbursments aboute the *Freindship* and *Whit-Angell*, and what concerned their accounts from first to last; or any thing else he could charge the partners with. So they were made debtor in the foote of that accounte *4770li. 19. 2.* besides *1000li. still due for the purchase* yet unpayed; notwithstanding all the *beaver*, and *returnes* that both *Ashley* and *they* had made, which were not small. [188]

So as a while before, wheras their great care was how to pay the purchase, and those other few debts which were upon them, now it was with them as it was some times with *Saule's-father*, who left careing for the Asses, and sorrowed for his sonn. 1. Sam. 10. 2. So that which before they looked at as a heavie burthen, they now esteeme but a small thing and a light mater, in comparison of what was now upon them. And thus the Lord oftentimes deals with his people to teach them, and humble them, that he may doe them good in the later end.[1]

In these accounts of Mr. *Sherley's* some things were obscure, and some things twise charged, as a ·100· of Bastable ruggs which came in the *Freindship*, and cost *75li.*,[2] charged before by Mr. *Allerton*, and now by him againe, with other perticulers of like nature doubtfull, to be twise or thrise charged; as also a sume of *600li.* which Mr. *Allerton* deneyed, and they could never understand for what it was. They sent a note of these and shuch like things afterward to Mr. *Sherley* by Mr. *Winslow;* but (I know not how it came to pass) could never have them explained.

Into these deepe sumes had Mr. Allerton rune them in *tow years*, for *in the later end of the year ·1628· all their debts did not amounte to much above 400li.*,[3] as was then noted; and now come to

[1] This paragraph is written on the reverse of page 186 of the manuscript.

[2] See p. 100, *supra*.

[3] See p. 40, *supra*.

so *many thousands*. And wheras *in the year 1629. Mr. Sherley and Mr. Hatherley being at Bristoll, and write a large letter from thence*, in which they had given an account of the debts, and what sumes were then disbursed, Mr. *Allerton* never left begging and intreating of them till they had put it out. So they bloted out ·2· lines in that leter in which the sumes were contained,[1] and write upon it so as not a word could be perceived; as since by them was confessed, and by the leters may be seene. And thus were they kept hoodwinckte, till now they were so deeply ingaged. And wheras *Mr. Sherley did so ernestly press that Mr. Allerton might be sent over to finish the great bussines aboute the patente, as may be seen in his letter write 1629.*[2] as is before recorded, and that they should be ernest with his wife to suffer him to goe, etc., he hath since confessed by a letter under my hands, that it was Mr. *Allerton's* owne doings, and not his, and he made him write his words, and not his owne. The patent was but a pretence, and not the thing. Thus were they abused in their simplicitie, and no beter than bought and sould, as it may seeme.

And to mend the matter, *Mr. Allerton* doth in a sorte *wholy now deserte them;* having brought them into the briers, he leaves them to gett out as they can. But God crost him mightily, for he *having hired the ship of Mr. Sherly at 30li. a month, he set forth againe* with a *most wicked and drunken crue*,[3] and for covetousnes sake did so over lade her, not only filling he[r] hould, but so stufed her betweene decks, as she was walte,[4] and could not bear sayle, and they had like to have been cast away at sea, and were forced to put for Millford Havene, and new-stow her, and put some of ther ordnance and more heavie goods in the botome; which lost them time, and made them *come late into the countrie, lose ther season, and made*

[1] See note to letter of March 19, 1629–30, in *Bradford Letter Book*, 71.
[2] That is, in 1630. See p. 72, *supra*.
[3] In the beginning of 1632. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.
[4] Unsteady, crank.

a worse viage then the year before. But being come into the countrie, he sells trading comodities to any that will buy, to the great prejudice of the plantation here; but that which is worse, what he could not sell, he trustes; and *sets up a company of base felows and makes them traders, to rune into every hole, and into the river of Kenebeck*, to gleane away the trade from the house ther, aboute the patente and priviledge wherof he had dasht away so much money of theirs here; [189] and now what in him lay went aboute to take away the benefite therof, and to overthrow them. Yea, not only this, but he furnishes a company, and joyns with some consorts, (being now deprived of Ashley at Penobscote,) and *sets up a trading house beyoned Penobscote*, to cute of the trade from thence also. But the *French* perceiving that that would be greatly to their damage *allso*, they came *in their begining before they were well setled, and displanted them*, slue ·2· of their men, and tooke all their goods to a good valew, the loss being most, if not all, Mr. *Allerton's;* for though some of them should have been his partners, yet he trusted them for their partes; the rest of the men were sent into *France*, and this was the end of that projecte.[1] The rest of those he

[1] This capture of the "trading house" at Machias occurred in the fall of 1633. Winthrop notes in November of that year: "News of the taking of Machias by the French. Mr. Allerton of Plimouth, and some others, had set up a trading wigwam there, and left in it five men and store of commodities. La Tour, governour of the French in those parts, making claim to the place, came to displant them, and finding resistance, killed two of the men, and carried away the other three, and the goods." *History*, I. *117. Conditions were favorable for unlicensed trade in the northern parts. In April, 1630, Sir William Alexander granted to Claude La Tour lands on the coast of Acadie extending from Canso to New England. The Council for New England also became active in parcelling out territory of undefined limits: the Lygonia grant of June, 1630; that for Black Point on the river of that name (now the Nonesuch), November, 1631; the Pascataway and Bradshaw grants of the same month. In December issued the Agamenticus, Richmond Island, and Cape Porpoise grants. The few actual settlements on the coast were engaged in trade, and not under such regular direction as would prevent irregularities and private enterprise. Allerton did not apply to the liberal handed Council for New England and obtain a patent which would have given a color of regularity. He could have been associated with

trusted, being lose and drunken fellows, did for the most parte but coussen and cheate him of all they got into their hands; that howsoever he did his friends some hurte hereby for the presente, yet he gate litle good, but wente by the loss by Gods just hand. *After* in time, when he came to *Plimmoth*, the church caled him to accounte for these, and other his grosse miscarrages; he confessed his faulte, and promised better walking, and that he would wind him selfe out of these courses as soone as he could, etc.

This year[1] their house at *Penobscott* was robed by the *French*, and all their goods of any worth they carried away, to the value of 400. or 500*li*. as the cost first peny worth; in beaver 300*li*. waight; and the rest in trading goods, as coats, ruggs, blankett, biskett, etc.[2]

John Beauchamp, one of the London partners, who held the Muscongus patent of March, 1629–30. But he became a partner or agent of Richard Vines, the associate of John Oldham who had given so much annoyance to New Plymouth in the past, and whose methods of trading with the Indians wholly independent of others, affected unfavorably the profits of the traffic, so far as all those in charge of the interests of the chartered plantations were concerned. Vines' patent was for Saco, which lay about as far from Machias (the Indian name was Mechisses) as it was possible to get without coming too near to Massachusetts to be safe. In setting up a wigwam at Machias the two were "interlopers" in every meaning of the word, and could show no shadow of right there to have a shelter and to engage in trade. They invited the attention of the French, who found in this wigwam property that had recently been taken out of their fort at St. Johns by the Scotch and some English of Virginia. The story is fully told in Winthrop, II. *125, 127, ten years after the incident, and from the mouths of the two principals Vines and La Tour. The exact connection between Vines and Allerton is not known, and the former is described as "part owner of the goods and principal trader." He attempted to represent his loss at double its real worth.

[1] N. B. Governor Winthrop places this in June, 1632, that is, I suppose, the news at Boston of this transaction. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

[2] On June 14, 1631, Winthrop notes: "The French came in a pinnace to Penobscot, and rifled a trucking house belonging to Plimouth, carrying thence three hundred weight of beaver and other goods. They took also one Dixy Bull and his shallop and goods." *History*, I. *79. Emanuel Downing wrote in November, 1632, that the robbers were not French, but English, "theire names I knowe not." 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 40 *c*. The participation of the "Scott," presently referred to, may have accounted for the Downing version.

It was in this maner. The m[aste]r of the house, and parte of the company with him, were come with their vessell to the westward to fecth a supply of goods which was brought over for them. In the mean time comes a smale French ship into the harbore (and amongst the company was a false Scott); they pretended they were nuly come from the sea, and knew not wher they were, and that their vesell was very leake, and desired they might hale her a shore and stop their leaks. And many French complements they used, and congeess they made; and in the ende, seeing but ·3· or ·4· simple men, that were servants, and by this Scoth-man understanding that the maister and the rest of the company were gone from home, they fell of comending their gunes and muskets, that lay upon racks by the wall side, and tooke them downe to looke on them, asking if they were charged. And when they were possest of them, one presents a peece ready charged against the servants, and another a pistoll; and bid them not sturr, but quietly deliver them their goods, and carries some of the men aborde, and made the other help to carry away the goods. And when they had tooke what they pleased, they sett them at liberty, and wente their way, with this mock, biding them tell their m[aste]r when he came, that some of the *Ile of Rey* gentlemen had been ther.[1]

This year also Mr. Sherley would needs send them over a new-acountante; he had made mention of shuch a thing the year before, but they write him word, that their charge was great allready, and they neede not increase it, as this would; but if they were well delte with, and had their goods well sent over, they could keep their accounts hear them sellves. Yet he now sente one, which they did not refuse, being *a yonger brother of Mr. Winslows*, whom they had been at charge to instructe at *London* before he came. He *came over*

[1] The above paragraph was written on the reverse of page 187 of the manuscript. This mention of the Isle de Rhé had reference to the disastrous expedition sent out in July, 1627, under the command of the Duke of Buckingham, to aid the Protestants of New Rochelle. *See* Gardiner, *History of England*, 1603–1642, VI. 167.

in the White Angell with Mr. Allerton, and ther begane his first imployemente; for though *Mr. Sherley had so farr befreinded Mr. Allerton, as to couson Mr. Winslow to ship the supply sente to the partners here in his ship, and give him 4li. per tune, wheras others carried for* ·3·[1] and he made them pay their fraight ready downe, before the ship wente out of the harbore, wheras others payed upon certificate of the goods being delivered, and their fraight came to upward of ·6· score pounds, yet they had much adoe to have their goods delivered, for some of them were chainged, as bread and pease; they were forced to take worse for better, neither could they even gett all. And if *Josias Winslow* had not been ther, it had been worse; for he had the invoyce, and order to send them to the trading houses.[2]

This year,[3] on Sir Christopher Gardener,[4] being, as him selfe said, discended of that house that the Bishop of Winchester came of (who was so great a persecutor of Gods saincts in Queene Maries days),[5] and being a great traveler, received his first honour of

[1] Freight for Boston, on the *Lyon* in 1632, on account of John Winthrop the younger, was "foure pounds per ton with primage and avarage accustomed." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, III. 27. The ship "belonged cheefly to Mr. Sherley." But in 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IX. 248, where the details are given, the freight is charged at £3.

[2] Josiah Winslow, youngest brother of Edward, was baptized at Droitwich, Worcestershire, February 16, 1605–06. He died before June, 1675.

[3] "The following account of Sir Christopher Gardiner, with the documents accompanying it, extending to page 145, does not appear in the text of the original manuscript, — having been perhaps inadvertently omitted, — but was written on the reverse of pages 189–191." DEANE.

[4] As respects Sir Christopher Gardiner see a paper communicated by Charles Francis Adams to *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XX. 60.

[5] The family of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, has never been identified. He was the reputed son of John Gardiner, a clothworker of Bury St. Edmunds. So humble an origin has not pleased some, who would give him noble, and even royal blood. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, XX. 419. In 1543 "an event of a peculiarly painful character inspired his enemies with fresh hope. His private secretary was his own nephew, a young priest named Germayne Gardiner. He was now, along with three other clerics, brought to trial on the charge of denying the royal supremacy. The other three were acquitted, but Gardiner's nephew suffered the

knighthood at Jerusalem, being made Knight of the Sepulcher ther.[1] He came into these parts under pretence of forsaking the world, and to live a private life, in a godly course, not unwilling to put him selfe upon any meane imployments, and take any paines for his living; and some time offered him selfe to joyne the churchs in sundry places.[2] He brought over with him a servante or ·2· and

death of a traitor." See Burnet, *Memoirs* (Pocock), I. 567. The incident is not without interest, as Sir Christopher appears to have told his paramour that his father was the brother of the bishop.

[1] Bradford [and Winslow followed him] is in error about Gardiner's knighthood. Winthrop more correctly speaks of him as a "knight of the Golden Melice." This Trumbull identified as the "milizia aureata," or "milice dorée," the proper designation of a Papal order, once in high repute, but even in Gardiner's day, held in rather light estimation. Simple profession of the Roman Catholic religion was the sole requirement for admittance. *Historical Magazine*, VIII. 75. As Trumbull suggests, it was fortunate for Gardiner that Winthrop did not know the order and the condition of membership.

His companion told the authorities that "Gardiner's father dwells in or neare Gloucester and was (as shee said) brother to Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, and did disinherit his sonne for his 26 years absence in his travailes in France, Italy, Germany and Turkey, that he had (as he told hir) marryed a wife in his travailes, from whom he was devorced and the woman long since dead, — that both herselfe and Gardiner were both Catholiques, till of late, but were now Protestants, that shee takes him to bee a knight but never heard where he was knighted." *Thomas Dudley to the Countess of Lincoln*, March, 1631.

[2] Sir Christopher is known to have arrived in Massachusetts about a month before the coming of Winthrop. Adams believes he came as an agent of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, whose claims to the Bay lands had suffered a serious setback by the activities of the Company of the Massachusetts Bay. As a friend or agent of Gorges, Gardiner would have found congenial company in the Bay, and even with Morton of Maremount. It is hardly likely that he made an offer of church communion, for there were no regular churches, and it would rather indicate that he moved from place to place. In time he settled at a place, which has not been identified, about seven miles from Boston, and on a river. The best conjecture places it on the Neponset, and near its mouth. The name of his companion was Mary Grove. In a few months word came from Captain William Peirce and Isaac Allerton, then in England, that they had seen and talked with two women, each of whom claimed to be legally married to Sir Christopher, and had obtained letters from them making charges against him. Hearing that he was wanted, Gardiner watched the river, and at last seeing some coming to apprehend him, he disappeared in the woods, intending, as was thought,

a comly yonge woman, whom he caled his cousin, but it was suspected, she (after the Italian maner) was his concubine. Living at the Massachusets, for some miscariages which he should have answered, he fled away from authority, and gott amonge the Indeans of these parts; they sent after him, but could not gett him, and promissed some reward to those that should find him. The Indeans came to the Gov[erno]r here, and tould wher he was, and asked if they might kill him; he tould them no, by no means, but if they could take him and bring him hither, they should be payed for their paines. They said he had a gune, and a rapier, and he would kill them if they wente aboute it; and the Massachuset Indeans said they might kille him. But the Gov[erno]r tould them no, they should not kill him, but watch their opportunitie, and take him. And so they did, for when they light of him by a river side, he got into a canowe to get from them, and when they came nere him, whilst he presented his peece at them to keep them of, the streame carried the canow against a rock, and tumbled both him and his peece and rapire into the water; yet he got out, and having a litle dagger by his side, they durst not close with him, but getting longe poles they soone beat his dagger out of his hand, so he was glad to yeeld; and they brought him to the Gov[erno]r. But his hands and armes were swolen and very sore with the blowes they had given him.[1] So he used him kindly, and sent him to a lodging wher his

to go northwards, where some Englishmen could be found. Instead of this he turned towards Manhattan, but did not go far, falling in with the Indians who took him. *Dudley to the Countess of Lincoln*, March, 1631.

[1] Another account is given in Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (Prince Soc.), 81, based upon hearsay, but much to the same effect. "A certaine man having layd himselfe open to the Kings lawes, fearing attachment, conviction, and consequently execution, sequestred himselfe from the honest societie of his neighbours, betaking himselfe unto the obscure thickets of the wildernesse, where hee lived for a time undiscovered, till the *Indians* who leave no place unsearched for Deere, found out his haunt, and having taken notice by diverse discourses concerning him, how that it was the governers desire to know where he was, they thought it a part of their service to certifie him where he kept his rendevouze, who thereupon desired if they could to

armes were bathed and anoynted, and he was quickly well againe, and blamed the Indeans for beating him so much. They said that they did but a litle whip him with sticks. In his lodging, those that made his bed found a litle note booke that by accidente had slipt out of his pockett, or some private place, in which was a memoriall what day he was reconciled to the pope and church of Rome, and in what universitie he tooke his scapula, and shuch and shuch degrees. It being brought to the Gov[erno]r, he kept it, and sent to the Gov[erno]r of the Massachusets word of his taking, who sent for him. So the Gov[erno]r sent him and these notes to the Gov-[erno]r ther, who tooke it very thankfuly; but after he gott for England, he shewed his malice, but God prevented him. See the Gov[erno]r['s] leter on the other side.[1]

Sir: It hath pleased God to bring Sir Christopher Gardener safe to us, with thos that came with him. And howsoever I never intended

direct men to him for his attachment, but he had shifted his dwelling, and could not be found for the present, yet he was after seene by other *Indians*, but being double pistold, and well sworded, they feared to approach so neere him as to grapple with him: wherefore they let him alone till his owne necessary businesse cast him upon them; for having occasion to crosse a river he came to the side thereof, where was an *Indian Cannow*, in which the Indians were to crosse the river themselves, hee vauntingly commanded waftage; which they willingly graunted, but withall plotting how they might take him prisoner, which they thus effected; having placed him in the midship of their ticklish wherrie, they lanched forth into the deepe, causing the capering *Cannow* to cast her combersome ballast into the liquid water; which swomme like a stone, and now the water having dank't his pistoles, and lost his *Spanish* progge in the bottome, the *Indians* swomme him out by the chinne to the shore, where having dropt himselfe a little dry, he began to bluster out a storme of rebellious resistance, till they becalmed his pelting chafe with their pelting of pibles at him, afterward leading him as they list to the governour." He was taken by the Indians of Namasket.

Morton, with characteristic inaccuracy and vagueness, gives an account of Sir Christopher's stay and experiences in the Massachusetts Bay colony. He also prints two efforts at versification by Sir Christopher. *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 338, and 112, 341. He seems to have confused Sir Christopher's attainments in engineering with those of Lyon Gardiner, who came in 1635, or two years before the *New English Canaan* was printed.

[1] That is, on reverse of page 189 in the manuscript.

any hard measure to him, but to respecte and use him according to his qualitie, yet I let him know your care of him, and that he shall speed the better for your mediation. It was a spetiall providence of God to bring those notes of his to our hands; I desire that you will please to speake to all that are privie to them, not to discovere them to any one, for that may frustrate the means of any further use to be made of them. The good Lord our God who hath allways ordered things for the good of his poore churches here, directe us in this arighte, and dispose it to a good issue. I am sorie we put you to so much trouble about this gentleman, espetialy at this time of great imployemente, but I know not how to avoyed it. I must againe intreate you, to let me knew what charge and troble any of your people have been at aboute him, that it may be recompenced. So with the true affection of a frind, desiring all happines to your selfe and yours, and to all my worthy friends with you (whom I love in the Lord), I comende you to his grace and good providence, and rest

Your most assured friend,

JOHN WINTHROP.

Boston, May 5. 1631.[1]

[1] On being informed of the taking of Sir Christopher, Winthrop sent Captain John Underhill and his lieutenant, Samuel Dudley, to receive him from the Plymouth authorities. They brought him to Boston, May 4. Towards the end of June (on the 25th) the letters for Sir Christopher and Morton came from Pascataqua, and gave Winthrop much light on the relations of Gardiner with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and the probable object of his coming to New England. This was no less than to aid Sir Ferdinando to "recover his pretended right" to a great part of the Massachusetts Bay grant, for which he "reposed much trust in Sir Christopher Gardiner." If Winthrop really entertained an idea that Gardiner intended any move against the "poore churches" of Massachusetts, to which the scapula and notes found in his lodging might give some support, he must have laid it aside on discovering the character and more real purpose of his presence. The knight, nominally a prisoner, enjoyed much freedom, and even interceded for a relaxation of the cruel decree against the mad Ratcliffe. Nor did he conceal the fact of his ill-will against the government of the colony. Winthrop, I. *57. Gardiner left Massachusetts Bay of his own free will, and went to the Androscoggin region with Mary Grove, now wife of Thomas Purchase of that place. The story is told in detail by Adams, who shows that Gardiner remained at Androscoggin through the winter of 1631–32, and landed at Bristol, England, August 15, 1632, dilating upon his ill-treatment, breathing

By occation herof I will take a litle libertie to declare what fell out by this mans means and malice, complying with others. And though I doubt not but it will be more fully done by my honourd friends, whom it did more directly concerne, and have more perticuler knowledg of the matter, yet I will here give a hinte of the same, and Gods providence in preventing the hurte that might have come by the same. The intelligence I had by a letter[1] from my

threats against the people of Massachusetts, and denouncing them as traitors and rebels against his Majesty. He reached England just in season to take an active part in the attack made on the Massachusetts Colony, and, as Adams suggests, he may have been summoned from America by Sir Ferdinando, to aid in that movement. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, xx. 74 ; *Winthrop*, i. *102.

[1] This letter must have been written in May, 1633, as Winthrop noted the arrival of two ships in that month, by which they learned of the move of their enemies. In his *History* (i. *102) he says: "Sir Christopher Gardiner, and Thomas Morton, and Philip Ratcliff, (who had been punished here for their misdemeanours,) had petitioned to the King and council against us, (being set on by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Mason, who had begun a plantation at Pascataquack, and aimed at the general government of New England for their agent there, Capt. Neal). The petition was of many sheets of paper, and contained many false accusations, (and among some truths misrepeated,) accusing us to intend rebellion, to have cast off our allegiance, and to be wholly separate from the church and laws of England; that our ministers did continually rail against the state, church, and bishops there, etc." This entry by Winthrop would seem to apply only to Massachusetts Bay, but his letter to Bradford shows that New Plymouth was included in the accusations.

In fact Morton must have been the prime mover so far as specific charges were made, and in the *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 322, he summarizes them. Sir Christopher was a Roman Catholic, and would not account separation from or abuse of the English hierarchy as a serious fault; Ratcliff, though said to be of the Church of England, was demented. In parting company with Captain Grant, who had brought him last to England, Morton bid him tell the Separatists (i.e. those of New Plymouth) that "they would be made in due time to repent those malitious practises, and so would hee too; for hee was a Seperatist amongst the Seperatists, as farre as his wit would give him leave." And Morton "in a posture like Ionas" began to cry "Repent you cruell Seperatists, repent; there are as yet but 40. dayes if Iove vouchsafe to thunder, Charter and the Kingdome of the Seperatists will fall asunder." This formed the burden of his letters to some of the first planters about Massachusetts Bay, an example of which may be found in Winthrop, ii. *190. *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 344, 345.

The "Separatists" were those of New Plymouth, but Morton had no clear idea of

much hon[oure]d and beloved freind, Mr. John Winthrop, Gov[er-no]r of the Massachusets.

Sir: Upon a petition exhibited by Sir Christo: Gardner, Sir Ferd: Gorges, Captaine Masson, etc.,[1] against you and us, the cause was heard before the lords of the Privie Counsell, and after reported to

a distinction, for he speaks of "King Winthrop with all his inventions and his Amsterdam fantastical ordinances, his preachings, marriages, and other abusive ceremonies, which do exemplify his detestation to the church of England, and the contempt of his majesty's authority and wholesome laws, which are and will be established in those parts." Winthrop, *History*, II. *191.

In 1631 a move was made to obtain a new patent reëstablishing a Company of Adventurers for the Plantation of Virginia. Some objection was raised to this measure on the ground that such a corporation "haveing the immediate disposal of all affayres in that place will endeavour to poyson that Plantation with factious spirits and such as are refractory to Monarchicall government as all Corporations are, and is found by experience in the Corporation of New England." Considerations against a New Virginia Company, *Va. Hist. Mag.*, VIII. 42. This may be an echo of the charge brought against the Salem settlement, that it would be a seminary of faction and separation. White, *The Planters Plea*, *62, 78; Smith, *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, *2.

[1] Others who made complaints were Philip Ratcliffe, who had been so cruelly mutilated, and Thomas Morton, who had placed his grievances at the disposal of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. A fourth complainant receives no mention at the hands of Bradford. Winslow expressly stated in his petition of 1635 that "one Dixie Bull, who was out in Piracy at the same time and after went to the French," brought testimony against New Plymouth. Conjecture fails even to suggest a grievance from that source. Bull came to New England early in 1631, as is supposed, in connection with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Samuel Maverick and other Bulls of London in their settlement at Aquamenticus (York). Baxter says he did not settle down, but engaged in trade along the coast, and in one of his ventures he trespassed on French territory. As a result his vessel was captured and his cargo confiscated. He became a rover, turned upon and plundered his friends at Pemaquid of goods and provisions to the value of five hundred pounds, and intended other mischief against Richmond's Island and even against Massachusetts Bay. Clapp relates that as Bull was "weighing anchor (at Pemaquid) one Mr. Short [Shurt] his men shot from the shore and struck the principal actor dead, and the rest were filled with fear and horror. These men fled eastwards, and Bull got into England; but God destroyed this wretched man. Thus the Lord saved us from their wicked device against us." Trelawney Papers, 2 *Maine Hist. Coll.*, III. 23.

the king, the success wherof makes it evident to all, that the Lord hath care of his people hear. The passages are admirable, and too long to write. I hartily wish an opportunitie to imparte them unto you, being many sheets of paper. But the conclusion was (against all mens expectation) an order for our incouragmente, and much blame and disgrace upon the adversaries, which calls for much thankfullnes from us all, which we purpose (the Lord willing) to express in a day of thanks-giving to our mercifull God, (I doubt not but you will consider, if it be not fitt for you to joyne in it,) [1] who, as he hath humbled us by his late correction, so he hath lifted us up, by an abundante rejoysing, in our deliverance out of so desperate a danger; so as that which our enemies builte their hopes upon to ruine us by, He hath [2] mercifully disposed to our great advantage, as I shall further aquainte you, when occasion shall serve.[3]

[1] No notice of such a day will be found in the records of New Plymouth. The nearest appointment in Massachusetts Bay was June 19, 1633, for which no special reason is given.

[2] See the other side. — BRADFORD. That is, the reverse of page 190 of the manuscript.

[3] The *Acts of the Privy Council*, Colonial Series, I. 183, have the following entry under December 19, 1632: "Vpon reading this day of seuerall Petitions preferred by some Planters of New England and a written Relation by Sir Cristopher Gardiner Knight and vpon long debate of the whole carriage of the Plantations of that Countrey. It was this day ordered That the lord Arch Bishopp of Yorke [Vacant], the lord Treasurer [Richard Lord Weston], lord Priuie Seale [Henry Earl of Manchester], lord high Chamberlaine of England [Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby], the Earl Marshall [Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey], [Sir Edward Sackville, Fourth] Earl of Dorsett, the lord Vice Count Falkeland [Henry Cary], the lord Bishop of London [William Laud], the lord [Francis] Cottington, Mr. Treasurer [Edmonds], Mr. Secretary [John] Coke and Mr. Secretary [Francis] Windebanck, or any fower or more of them, calling to their Assistannce such other persons as they shall thinke fitt, shall examine how the Patentes for the said Plantation, haue been grannted, and how carried; and shall examine the truth of the aforesaid Informations, or such other Informations as shall bee presented to them. And shall make Reporte thereof to the Board and of the true state of the said Plantations, as they find them now to stand. For which purpose, they are to call before them such of the Patentees and such of the Complaynanntes and their Wittnesses, or any other persons as they shall thinck fitt."

Accordingly Sir Richard Saltonstall and Matthew Craddock were summoned, and

The coppy of the order follows.

At the COURTE at WHIT-HALL the 19. Jan[uary]: 1632 [33].

PRESENT

Sigillum	Lord Privie Seale	Lord Cottinton
	Ea: of Dorsett	M[r]. Tre[asurer]
	Lo: Vi: Falkland	M[r]. Vic Chamb[erlain]
	Lo: Bp: of London	M[r]. Sec: Cooke

Maister Sec: Windebanck

Wheras his Ma[tie] hath latly been informed of great distraction and much disorder in that plantation in the parts of America called New-England, which, if they be true, and suffered to rune on, would tende to the great dishonour of this kingdome, and utter ruine of that plantation. For prevention wherof, and for the orderly settling of government, according to the intention of those patents which have been granted by his Ma[jes]tie and from his late royall father king James, it hath pleased his Ma[jes]tie that the lords and others of his most honourable Privie Counsell, should take the same into consideration. Their lordships in the first place thought fitt to make a comitie of this bord, to take examination of the matters informed; which committies [1] having called diverse of the principall adventurers in that plantation, and heard those that are complanants against them, most of the things informed being deneyed, and resting [2] to be proved by parties that must be called from that place, which required a long expence of time; and at [3] presente their lordships finding the adventurers were upon dispatch of men, victles, and marchandice for that place, all which would be at a stand, if the adventurers should have discouragmente, or take suspition that the state hear had no good opinion of that planta-

at a later time, John Humfrey, who gave their answer in writing. The Committee of the Council were occupied for three days on this matter. Winthrop states that upon the reading of the answer of the representatives of the company a conclusion favorable to the Plantation resulted. *History*, I. *103.

[1] Should be "committee."

[2] *Rested* in the Council Records.

[3] "at the present" in Council Records.

tion; their lordships, not laying[1] the faulte or fancies (if any be) of some perticuler men upon the generall govermente, or principall adventurers, (which in due time is further to be inquired into,) have thought fitt in the meane time to declare, that the appearences were so faire, and hopes so greate, that the countrie would prove both beneficiall to this kingdom, and profitable to the perticuler adventurers, as that the adventurers had cause to goe on cherfully with their undertakings, and rest assured, if things were carried as was pretended when the patents were granted, and accordingly as by the patentes it is appointed his Majestie would not only maintaine the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply any thing further that might tend to the good govermente, prosperitie, and comforte of his people ther of that place, etc.[2]

WILLIAM TRUMBALL.

[1] This word is not in the original Council Records. The editor of these records supplies the word "notwithstanding."

[2] The report of the Council was laid before the King by Sir Thomas Jermyn, a member of the Privy Council and a subscriber in the Virginia Company, who "spake much in the commendation of the governour, both to the lords and after to his majesty." The king said, "he would have them severely punished, who did abuse his governour and the plantation; that the defendants were dismissed with a favorable order for their encouragement, being assured from some of the council, that his majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the church of England upon us; for that it was considered, that it was the freedom from such things that made people come over to us; and it was credibly informed to the council, that this country would, in time, be very beneficial to England, for masts, cordage, etc. if the Sound should be debarred." Winthrop, *History*, I. *103. See letter from Edward Howes to John Winthrop, Jr., March 18, 1632–33, in 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IX. 252.

Anno Dom: ·1632·

MR. ALLERTON, returning for *England*,[1] litle regarded his bound of a 1000*li.* to performe covenants; for wheras he was bound by the same to bring the ship to [190] *London*, and to pay 30*li.* per month for her hire, he did neither of boath, for he carried her to *Bristoll* againe, from whence he *intended to sett her out againe, and so did the ·3· time, into these parts* (as after will appear); and though she had been [2] months upon the former viage, at 30*li.* per month, yet he never payed peney for hire. It should seeme he knew well enough how to deale with Mr. *Sherley*. And Mr. *Sherley*, though he would needs tye her and her accounte upon the generall, yet he would dispose of her as him selfe pleased; for though Mr. *Winslow* had in their names protested against the receiving her on that accounte, or if ever they should hope to preveile in shuch a thing, yet never to suffer Mr. *Allerton* to have any more to doe in her, yet he *the last year* [3] let her wholy unto him, and injoyned them to send all their supplye in her to their prejudice, as is before noted. And now, though he broke his bonds, kepte no covenante, paid no hire, nor was ever like to keep covenants, yet now he goes and *sells him all, both ship, and all her accounts*, from first to last (and in effecte he might aswell have given him the same); and not only this, but he doth as good as provide a sanctuary for him, for he gives him one years time to prepare his accounte, and then to give up the same to them here; and then another year for him to make paymente of what should be due upon

[1] Allerton was expected in London towards the end of November, 1632. He carried letters from Boston, dated September 29. 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IX. 249, 257.

[2] The figures are illegible. Deane says 10, but it has more the appearance of 12 and of having been struck out.

[3] That is, 1632. — PRINCE in *Bradford* MS.

that accounte. And in the mean time writes ernestly to them not to interupte or hinder him from his bussines, or stay him aboute clearing accounts, etc.; so as he in the mean time gathers up all monies due for fraighte, and any other debtes belonging either to her, or the *Frindship's* accounts, as his owne perticuler; and after, sells ship, and ordnans, fish, and what he had raised, in *Spane*,[1] according to the first designe, in effecte; and who had, or what became of the money, he best knows. In the mean time their hands were bound, and could doe nothing but looke on, till he had made all away into other mens hands (save a few catle and a litle land and some small maters he had here at *Plimoth*), and so in the end removed, as he had allready his person, so all his from hence.[2] This will better appere by Mr. *Sherley's* leter.

[1] The exportation of war material from Great Britain to Spain appears to have been permitted at this time, though illegal. "In regard to the export of warlike stores, that the Council had requested his opinion thereupon, in connection with his Majesty's finances, and that he had then disapproved thereof. We, nevertheless, have been, afterwards informed that the exportation is permitted to Spain and Italy." *The Dutch Representatives in England to the States General*, April 10 (N. S.), 1632. *Documents relating to the History of New York*, I. 48.

[2] When Allerton removed from New Plymouth is not known, but his wife died in 1634, and in the following year he was living at Marblehead, with his son-in-law Moses Maverick. He was not permitted to rest there in peace, as the Massachusetts General Court agreed, March 4, 1634–35, "that Mr. Allerton shalbe sent for, by processe, to the nexte Court of Assistants, to the intent that hee may vnderstand the desire of the country for his removeall from Marble Harbor, and soe to be enioyned to be att the nexte Generall Court, or otherwise to be dealt withall, as the particular court shall thinke meete." *Mass. Col. Rec.*, I. 140. In May, 1635, it was recorded that he had transferred to Maverick "all his howses, buildings, and stages," he held in that place. On the same day (May 6) Marble Head was set up to be a plantation. Leaving Marblehead for some years all traces of him are lost. In March, 1636–37, his name occurs among the freemen of New Plymouth, and later, some time before 1643, he went to New Amsterdam, where he became a resident, and a subject of the States General of Holland. For in November, 1643, he is one of eight signers to the appeal to the States General for better protection against the Indians, in which they acknowledged the States General as "our Sovereigns." As the eight signers were chosen by ballot of the Commonalty, the election marked Allerton as already of some prominence at Manhattan. Even in this apparently public spirited design,

Sir: These few lines are further to give you to understand, that seeing you and we, that never differed yet but aboute the *White-Angell*, which some what troubleth us, as I perceive it doth you. And now Mr. *Allerton* beeing here, we have had some confferance with him about her, and find him very willing to give you and us all contente that possiblie he can, though he burthen him selfe. He is contente to take the *White-Angell* wholy on him selfe, notwithstanding he mett with *pirates* neer the coast of *Ierland*, which tooke away his best sayles and other provissions from her; so as verily if we should now sell her, she would yeeld but a small price, besides her ordnance. And to set her forth againe with fresh money we would not, she being now at *Bristoll*. Wherfore we thought it best, both for you and us, Mr. *Allerton* being willing to take her, to accepte of his bond of *tow thousand pounds*, to give [191] you a true and perfecte accounte, and take the whole charge of the *Whit-Angell* wholy to him selfe, from the first to the last. The accounte he is to make and perfecte within · 12 · months from the date of this letter, and then to pay you at · 6 · and · 6 · months after, what soever shall be due unto you and us upon the foote of that accounte. And verily, notwithstanding all the disasters he hath had, I am perswaded he hath enough to pay all men here and ther. Only they must have patience till he can gather in what is due to him

his conduct did not escape notice. Kieft charged that two of the signers, Allerton being one, "cheated the good people whose names they dishonestly made use of, and whom they imploringly besought to sign, thus deceiving the Lords Patroons, inducing them to believe that the original letter was signed by the Eight men." Some allowance must be made for the bitter feelings excited at the time over the conduct of Kieft. In October, 1644, Allerton was still at Manhattan, but some two years after, in March, 1646–47, he was in New Haven colony, and received a seating in the meeting-house at that time. His servant complained that Allerton was "much absent," doubtless upon trading ventures, and in 1649 he is among sundry men "rated for trades and merchandizing." In these years he served as a medium of communication between the New Englanders and the Dutch, and seemed to be trusted by both parties. He died before February 12, 1658–59, leaving an insolvent estate. *Documents relating to the History of New York*, I. 140, 207; *New Haven Col. Rec.*, I. 302, 499, 532–535; II. 126, 307. Allerton was obviously a man of a type with which the world is very familiar. Of a speculative turn, he was lacking in moral perceptions. He thus continually incurred obligations which it was inconvenient or impossible for him to meet, and then he apparently had recourse to subterfuges.

their. I doe not write this slightly, but upon some ground of what I have seen (and perhaps you know not of) under the hands and seals of some, etc. I rest

Your assured friend,

JAMES SHERLEY.

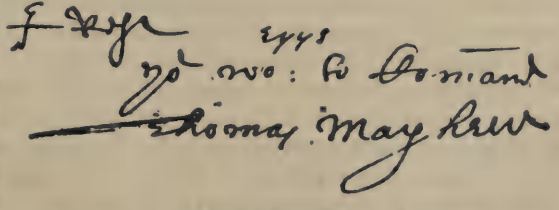
Des[ember]: 6. 1632.

But heres not a word of the breach of former bonds and covenants, or paimente of the ships hire; this is passt by as if no shuch thing had been; besides what bonds or obligments so ever they had of him, ther never came any to the hands or sight of the partners here. And for this that Mr. *Sherley* seems to intimate (as a secrete) of his abilitie, under the hands and seals of some, it was but a trick,[1] having gathered up an accounte of what was owing from shuch base fellows as he had made traders for him, and other debts; and then got Mr. *Mahue*,[2] and some others, to affirme under their hand and seale, that they had seen shuch accounts that were due to him.

Mr. *Hatherley* came over againe this year, but upon his owne occasions, and begane to make preparation to plant and dwell in the countrie.[3] He with his former dealings had wound in what money

[1] One or two words follow that have been carefully obliterated.

[2] Probably Thomas Mayhew, a merchant of Southampton, who came to New England in 1631, and later was Governor of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. He had some business relations with Governor Craddock, which were not conducted in a manner to satisfy Craddock. The difficulty seems to have been not unlike that with Allerton; for Mayhew, though bound to Craddock's interests, traded upon his own account, and involved his employer in great expense without regard to orders or conditions. 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 118.



[3] Hatherley is stated by Winthrop (*History*, I. *78) to have come in the *Charles*, from Barnstable, England, sailing thence April 10, and reaching Boston June 5, 1632. He probably made a short stay in New England, for he is again in England in the late

he had in the pa[r]tnership into his owne hands, and so gave off all partnership (excepte in name), as was found in the issue of things; neither did he medle, or take any care aboute the same; only he was troubled about his ingagmente aboute the *Friendship*, as will after appeare. And now partly aboute that accounte, in some reconings betweene Mr. *Allerton* and *him*, and some debts that Mr. *Allerton* otherwise owed him upon dealing between them in perticuler, he drue up an accounte of above 2000*li*., and would faine have ingaged the partners here with it, because Mr. *Allerton* had been their *agent*. But they tould him they had been fool'd longe enough with shuch things, and shewed him that it no way belonged to them; but tould him he must looke to make good his ingagment for the *Freindship*, which caused some trouble betweene Mr. *Allerton* and *him*.

Mr. *William Peirce* did the like, Mr. *Allerton* being wound into his debte also upon particuler dealings; as if they had been bound to make good all mens debts. But they easily shooke off these things. But Mr. *Allerton* herby rane into much trouble and vexa-

fall, interested as "chief merchant" in the ship *William*. On December 10, Francis Kirby could write: "I have written you more at large per Mr. Hatherley who is now redy to go to Gravesend;" and in a later letter he says that goods were sent "per Mr. Hatherley in the *William* who went hence in December." *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IX. 259. The holding of the Dutch ship, in June, 1632 (p. 31, *supra*), at the wish of the Council for New England, may have been responsible for another venture of this year — that of the *William*, of which William Trevore was master, and Timothy Hatherley, chief-merchant. The ship was fitted out by three merchants, William Cloberry, David Morehead and John Delabarr. The ship left England in December, touched at New Plymouth about February 22, with goods and passengers for Massachusetts Bay. Winthrop states "she came to set up a fishing at Scituate, and so to go to trade at Hudson's River." *History*, I. *100. Scituate was the settlement of Timothy Hatherley, who knew something of the profits of the fur trade in New England, and may have suggested the voyage. The ship entered the Hudson in April. Although the master asserted that the territories belonged to the King of Great Britain, the Dutch were too strong for him, and hindered him from getting a cargo of furs. For this damages were sought. The eventful voyage of the *William* is told in *Documents relating to the History of New York*, I. 73, 93.

tion, as well as he had troubled others, for Mr. *Denison* sued him for the ·6· part of the *Whit-Angell*, and recovered the same with damages.[1]

Though the partners were thus plunged into great ingagments, and oppresed with unjust debts, yet the Lord prospered their trading, that they made yearly large returnes, and had soone wound them selves out of all, if yet they had otherwise been well delt with all; as will more appear here after. [192] Also the people of the plantation begane to grow in their owtward estates, by rea[son] of the flowing of many people into the cuntrie, espetially into the Bay of the Massachusets; by which means corne and catle rose to a great prise, by which many were much inriched, and commodities grue plentifull; and yet in other regards this benefite turned to their hurte, and this accession of strength to their weaknes. For now as their stocks increased, and the increse vendible,[2] ther was no longer any holding them togeather, but now they must of necessitie goe to their great lots; they could not other wise keep their katle; [3] and having oxen growne, they must have land for plowing

[1] On July 1, 1634, the Court of Assistants in Massachusetts Bay ordered "that Mr. Isaack Allerton shall pay the somme of xl*s* to Mr. William Dennison, for charges in suyte aboute a debte of an hundreth pound." *Mass. Col. Rec.*, I. 122. Denison was a resident of Roxbury, which accounts for the bringing of the suit in the Bay court.

[2] Some words, carefully blotted out, follow in the manuscript.

[3] "Jan. 2d. 1632–33. Whereas, in the beginning and first planting of this colony, it was ordered that all should plant their corne, &c. as neere as might be to the towne of Plymoth aforesaid, and for that end an acre of land was allowed and allotted to each person for their present use, and so to them and their heires for ever; and whereas the said acres lay open, without inclosure, divers lawes and orders haue been made to prevent such damage as might befall the whole by kine, swine, goats, &c., that so by hearding, or other courses, mens labours might be preserved, and such damage or losse as fell upon any to be made good by the owners of the same cattle trespassing; but since the said acres are for the most part worne out, and cattle, by God's blessing, abundantly encreasing, and necessity constrayning to inclose elsewhere: Act. 1. It was thought meet, at a Court held the 2d of January, 1632–33, that the former priviledges of the said acres should be laid downe, and that, as elsewhere, no man set corne upon them without inclosure but at his perill." It was further ordered "in regard of

and tillage. And no man now thought he could live, except he had catle and a great deale of ground to keep them; all striving to increase their stocks. By which means they were scatered all over the bay, quickly, and the towne, in which they lived compactly till now, was left very thine, and in a short time allmost desolate. And if this had been all, it had been less, thoug to much; but the church must also be devided, and those that had lived so long togeather in Christian and comfortable fellowship must now part and suffer many divissions. First, those that lived on their lots on the other side of the bay (called Duxberie) [1] they could not long bring their wives and children to the publick worship and church meetings here, but with shuch burthen, as, growing to some competente number, they sued to be dismissed and become a body of them selves; and so they were dismiste (about this time), though very unwillingly. But to touch this sadd matter, and handle things together that fell out afterwards. To prevent any further scatering from this place, and weakning of the same, it was thought best to give out some good faroms to spetiall persons, that would promise to live at Plimoth, and lickly to be helpfull to the church or comone-welth,

our dispersion so far asunder," that every inhabitant should provide himself with a "sufficient musket, and other serviceable peece for war, with bandeleroes, and other apurtenances," and to be always furnished "with two pounds of powder and ten pounds of bullets." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 6.

[1] Some of the Plymouth people held land and had put up buildings at Duxbury before this time, and before any name was assigned to the region. Winsor, in his *History of Duxbury* (10), gives the following, as taken from the Colony records: "Ano. 1632 Aprell 2. The names of those which promise to remove their fam[ilies] to live in the towne in the winter time, that they m[ay] the better repair to the worship of God. John Alden, Capt. Standish, Jonathan Brewster, Thomas Prence." Although Duxbury was not set off as a town until June 7, 1637, a constable was appointed in 1636, and it was proposed to unite the two societies of Plymouth and Duxbury at Jones River, "there to build a meeting howse and towne," or at Morton's Hole, which was to the west of the hill, later Captain's Hill. As the commissioners could not agree, seven of the nine being for Jones River and two for Morton's Hole, the governor referred the decision to the two churches, but no determination from them is on record. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 39, 41.



MAP OF DUXBURY, 1795.

and so tye the lands to Plimoth as farmes for the same; and ther they might keepe their catle and tillage by some servants, and retaine their dwellings here. And so some spetiall lands were granted at a place generall, called Greens Harbor,[1] wher no allotments had been in the former divission, a plase very weell meadowed, and fitt to keep and rear catle, good store. But alass! this remedy proved worse then the disease; for *within a few years* those that had thus gott footing ther rente them selves away, partly by force, and partly wearing the rest with importunitie and pleas of necessitie, so as they must either suffer them to goe, or live in continuall opposition and contention.[2] And others still, as they conceived them selves straitened, or to want accommodation, broak away under one pretence or other, thinking their owne conceived necessitie, and the example of others, a warrente sufficente for them. And this, I fear, will be the ruine of New-England, at least of the churches of God ther, and will provock the Lords displeasure against them.[3] [193]

[1] It is not known when these lands were granted at Green's Harbor, which in 1640 became known as Rexhame, and before 1641 as Marshfield. Before 1633 an agreement had been made with William Gibson, John Shaw and others, to cut a passage between Green's Harbor and Duxbury bay, but the performance of the contract had not been completed in that year, when the General Court directed the contractors to finish it or pay the cost. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 13. Winslow, in 1636, received a grant of land to be taken "at or about his ground at Greens Harbour." *Ib.* 41.

[2] "And whereas some gather the ground to be naught, and soone out of heart, because *Plimouth* men remove from their old habitations, I answer, they do no more remove from their habitation, than the Citizen which hath one house in the Citie and another in the Countrey, for his pleasure, health and profit. For although they have taken new plots of ground, and build houses upon them, yet doe they retaine their old houses still, and repaire to them every Sabbath day; neither doe they esteeme their old lots worse than when they first tooke them: what if they doe not plant on them every yeare? I hope it is no ill husbandry to rest the land, nor is alwayes that the worst that lies sometimes fallow." Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, *11.

[3] In spite of Bradford's anxiety about the future of the colonies and churches, the church of New Plymouth had in this very year shown its influence upon its neighbors in the Bay. The Boston church had written to the elders and brethren of the churches in Plymouth, Salem and elsewhere, asking if one person might be a civil magistrate and a ruling elder at the same time, and, if not, which office should be laid down. The

This year, Mr. William Perce[1] came into the cuntry, and brought goods and passenger, in a ship caled the Lyon, which belonged cheefly to Mr. Sherley, and the rest of the London partners, but these hear had nothing to doe with her. In this ship (besides beaver which they had sent home before) they sent *upward of 800li. in her*, and *some otter skines;* and also the coppies of Mr. Allertons accounts, desiring that they would also peruse and examene them, and rectifie shuch things as they should find amise in them; and the rather because they were better acquaynted with the goods bought ther, and the disbursments made, then they could bee here; yea, a great part were done by them selves, though Mr. Allerton brougt in the accounte, and sundry things seemed to them obscure and had need of clearing. Also they sente a booke of exceptions against his accounts, in shuch things as they could manifest, and doubted not but they might adde more therunto. And also shewed them how much Mr. Allerton was debtor to the accounte; and desired, seeing they had now put the ship White-Angell, and all, wholy into his power, and tyed their hands here, that they could not call him to accounte for any thinge, till the time was expired which they had given him, and by that time other men would get

first question "was agreed by all negatively, the second doubtfully." Hubbard places the solution on a "conference with the chief of Plymouth (to whose opinion those of Boston did much adhere in their church matters, as those of Salem had done before)." Winthrop, *History*, I. *81; Hubbard, 186. Roger Williams was one of those consulted, for he rejoiced in the determination that the two swords might not be in the same hands. 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 185.

[1] Peirce left the English coast in July, and under date September 16, Winthrop records his arrival: "In the evening, Mr. Peirce, in the ship *Lyon*, arrived, and came to an anchor before Boston. He brought one hundred and twenty-three passengers, whereof fifty children, all in health; and lost not one person by the way, save his carpenter, who fell overboard as he was caulking a port. They had been twelve weeks aboard, and eight weeks from the Land's End." As the sixteenth was the Lord's day, the letters brought by the vessel were not delivered until Monday. A bill of lading of goods sent to the younger Winthrop by the *Lyon* is in the Massachusetts Historical Society, and is printed in *Proceedings*, III. 27. The contents of two "drie fats" are in 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IX. 248.



MAP OF MARSHFIELD.

their debts of him, (as sume had done already by suing him,) and he would make all away here quickly out of their reach; and therfore prayed them to looke to things, and gett paymente of him ther, as it was all the reason they should, seeing they keept all the bonds and covenants they made with him in their owne hands; and here they could doe nothing by the course they had taken, nor had any thing to show if they should goe aboute it. But it pleased God, this ship, being first to goe to Verginia before she wente home, was cast away on that coast, not farr from Virginia,[1] and their beaver was all lost (which was *the first loss they sustained in that kind*); but Mr. Peirce and the men saved their lives, and also their leters, and gott into Virginia, and so safly home. The accounts were now sent from hence againe to them. And thus much of the passages of this year.

A part of Mr. Peirce his leter from Virginia.[2]

It was dated in Des[ember]: 25. 1632. and came to their hand the ·7· of Aprill, before they heard any thing from England.

Dear freinds, etc. The bruit of this fatall stroke that the Lord hath brought both on me and you all will come to your ears before this commeth to your hands, (it is like,) and therfore I shall not need to inlarg in perticulers, etc. My whole estate (for the most parte) is taken away; and so yours, in a great measure, by this and your former, losses [he means by the French and Mr. Allerton].[3] It is time to looke aboute us, before the wrath of the Lord breake forth to utter destruction. The good Lord give us all grace to search our harts and trie our ways, and turne unto the Lord, and humble our selves under his mightie hand, and seeke atonemente, etc. Dear freinds, you may know that

[1] Peirce sailed from Boston for Virginia on October 27. News of the shipwreck upon a shoal four miles from Feake Isle, off Virginia Bay, November 2, was brought to New Plymouth April 7, and to Boston, April 10, 1633, by one of the mates, John Hodges. Winthrop says "Plimouth men lost four hogsheads, 900 pounds of beaver, and 200 otter skins." *History*, I. *102.

[2] This letter was written on the reverse of folio 192 of the manuscript.

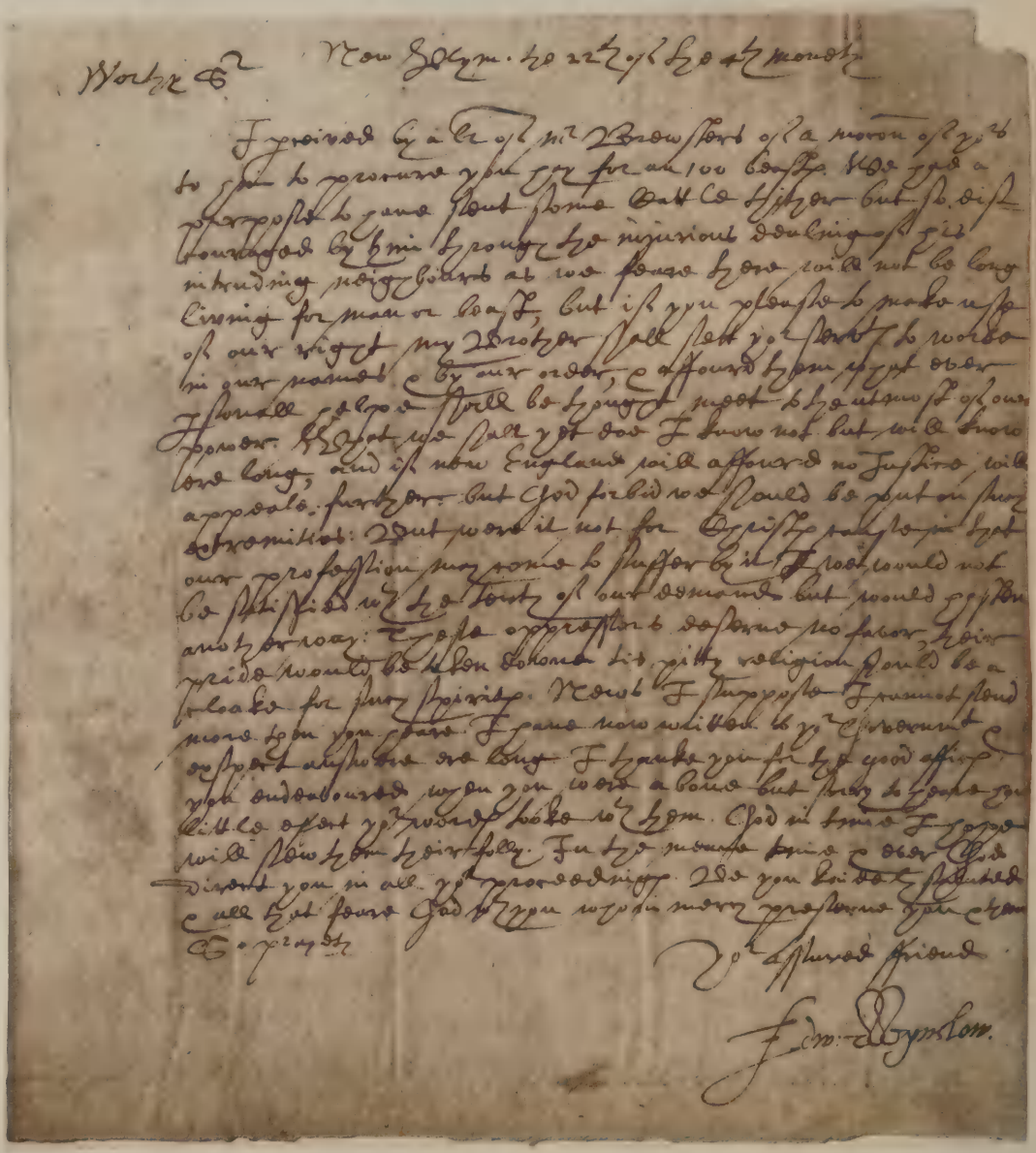
[3] The brackets are in the original MS.

all your beaver, and the books of your accounts, are swallowed up in the sea; your letters remaine with me, and shall be delivered, if God bring me home. But what should I more say? Have we lost our outward estates? yet a hapy loss if our soules may gaine; ther is yet more in the Lord Jehova then ever we had yet in the world. Oh that our foolish harts could yet be wained from the things here below, which are vanity and vexation of spirite; and yet we fooles catch after shadows, that flye away, and are gone in a momente, etc. Thus with my continuall remembrance of you in my poore desires to the throne of grace, beseeching God to renew his love and favoure towards you all, in and through the Lord Jesus Christ, both in spirituall and temp[o]rall good things, as may be most to the glory and praise of his name, and your everlasting good. So I rest,

Your afflicted brother in Christ,

WILLIAM PEIRCE.

Virginia, Des[ember] 25. 1632.



EDWARD WINSLOW.

Anno Dom: ·1633·

THIS year Mr. Ed: Winslow was chosen Governor.[1] By the first returne this year, they had leters from Mr. Sherley of Mr. Allerton's further ill success, and the loss by Mr. Peirce, with many sadd complaints; but litle hope of any

[1] Winslow had returned from England, sailing from London in the *William and Francis*, March 9, 1631–32, and reaching Boston, June 5, 1632. Winthrop, I. *78. Bradford had now served twelve years as governor, and "now by importunity gat off." The temptations to hold office were not such as to lead to any contest for places, either of governor or of a member of the Council. The Court felt obliged at this time to discourage a refusal to hold office by imposing fines upon any who, having been elected, should refuse to hold and execute his office for the year. In the case of the governor the fine was fixed at twenty pounds sterling, and in that of a councillor, ten pounds. One who had served a year as governor might decline without any penalty. Winthrop, *History*, I. *98; *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 5.

The names of the governor's councillors or Assistants are given for the first time in the Records for this year — William Bradford, Myles Standish, John Howland, John Alden, John Doane, Stephen Hopkins and William Gilson. "We know from this History, that on the first election of Bradford as Governor, in 1621, Allerton was chosen his Assistant, and held the office, by re-election, for a number of years. In 1624, the number was increased to five, with which number, says Hubbard, 'they rested contented till the year 1633, when two more were added.' In an official letter written by Governor Bradford to Governor Winthrop, dated February 6, 1631–32, besides the signature of the Governor, it bears the names of Miles Standish, Samuel Fuller, John Alden, and Thomas Prence, who were probably the Assistants at that time. Winslow, who was then absent, may have completed the number.

"Respecting the time for the annual election of Governor and Assistants, we find in 1633, when the first record of the election of those officers appears, and in 1634, 1635, and 1636, that it took place at the General Court in January. They were to enter upon the duties of their office, however, on the ensuing March, which was the commencement of the civil year; though no particular day appears to have been assigned for that purpose. Prence was elected Governor in 1634, 'for the year following, and to enter upon the place the 1st of March or the 27th of the same.' Bradford was chosen in 1635, and was to enter upon his duties on the first Tuesday in March. Winslow, in 1636, was to enter upon the place the 1st of March. In 1633,

thinge to be gott of Mr. Allerton, or how their accounts might be either eased, or any way rectified by them ther; but now saw plainly that the burthen of all would be cast on their backs. The spetiall passages of his letters I shall here inserte, as shall be pertinente to these things; for though I am weary of this tedious and uncomfortable subjecte, yet for the clearing of the truth I am compelled to be more large in the opening of these matters, upon which [194] so much trouble hath insued, and so many hard censures have passed on both sides. I would not be partiall to either, but deliver the truth in all, and, as nere as I can, in their owne words and passages, and so leave it to the impartiall judgment of any that shall come to read, or veiw these things. His leters are as folow, dated June 24. 1633.

LOVING FREINDS, my last[1] was sente *in the Mary and John*,[2] *by Mr. William Collier*, etc.[3] I then certified of you the great, and uncomfortable, and unseasonable loss you and we had, in the loss of Mr. Peirce his ship, the Lyon; but the Lords holy name be blessed, who gives and takes as it pleaseth him; his will be done, Amen. I then re-

when Winslow was first chosen, he entered upon his duties at once. . . . In 1636, a law was enacted appointing the first Tuesday in March for the election of officers; and in 1642, 'It is enacted, that the election court of choosing officers as Governor and Assistants shall be hereafter every first Tuesday in June, because that many are hindered from coming in March by reason of the unseasonableness of the weather ordinarily.'" DEANE. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 21, 32, 37.

[1] March 22. — BRADFORD.

[2] "Prince (II. 88) supposes this ship is the same as the *Mary and Jane*, whose arrival with 196 passengers is mentioned by Winthrop (I. *102) under date May, 1633." DEANE.

[3] "This year [1633] likewise Mr. *William Collier* arrived with his Family in *New-England*, who as he had been a good Benefactor to the Colony of *New-Plimouth* before he came over, having been an Adventurer unto it at its first beginning; so also he approved himself a very useful Instrument in that Jurisdiction after he arrived, being frequently Chosen, and for divers years serving God and the Country in the place of Magistracy; and lived a godly and holy life untill old Age, which to him is a *Crown of Glory, being found in the way of Righteousness*." Morton, *New Englands Memoriall*, *91.

lated unto you that fearfull accidente, or rather judgmente, the Lord pleased to lay on London Bridge,[1] by fire, and therin gave you a touch of my great loss; the Lord, I hope, will give me patience to bear it, and faith to trust in him, and not in these slipery and uncertaine things of this world.

I hope Mr. Allerton is nere upon sayle[2] with you by this; but he had many disasters here before he could gett away; yet the last was a heavie one; his ship, going out of the harbor at Bristoll, by stormie weather was so farr driven on the shore, as it cost him above 100*li.* before shee could be gott off againe.[3] Verily his case was so lamentable as I could not but afford him some help therin (and so did some mere strangers to him); besides, your goods were in her, and if he had not been supported, he must have broke off his viage, and so loss could not have been avoyded on all sides. When he first bought her, I thinke he had made a saving match, if he had then sunck her, and never set her forth. I hope he sees the Lords hand against him, and will leave of these vioages. I thinke we did well in parting with her; she would have been but a clogge to the accounte from time to time, and now though we shall not gett much by way of satisfaction, yet we shall lose no more. And now, as before I have writte, I pray you finish all the accounts and reconings with him there; for here he hath nothing, but many debtes that he stands ingaged to many men for. Besides, here is not a man that will spend a day, or scarce an hower, aboute the accounts but my selfe, and the bussines will require more time and help then I can afford. I shall not need to say any more; I hope you will doe that which shall be best and just, to which adde mercie, and consider his intente, though he failed in many perticulers, which now cannot be helped, etc.

[1] "1632–3, February 11. ☽ night till ☌ morning. (Laud's *Diary*)."— PRINCE.

[2] Bradford wrote "safe," but struck it out. In all editions the word "sayle" is used; but in June, when this letter was written, Allerton would be at or near the coast of New England.

[3] On April 15 a fishing vessel, John Corbin, master, arrived at Pascataqua bringing one Richard Foxwell, who "heard from Mr. Alerton, whoe was making ready at Bristol for to come for this cuntery." *William Hilton to John Winthrop, Jr.*, April 18, 1633, in 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IX. 262.

To morrow, or next day at furthest, we are to pay 300*li.* and Mr. Beachamp is out of the towne, yet the bussines I must doe. Oh the greefe and trouble that man, Mr. Allerton, hath brought upon you and us! I cannot forgett it, and to thinke on it drawes many a sigh from my harte, and teares from my eyes. And now the Lord hath visited me with an other great loss, yet I can undergoe it with more patience. But this I have follishly pulled upon my selfe, etc. [*And in another he hath this passage:*] [1] By Mr. Allertons faire propossitions and large [195] promises, I have over rune my selfe; verily, at this time greefe hinders me to write, and tears will not suffer me to see; wherfore, *as you love those that ever loved you, and that plantation, thinke upon us.* Oh what shall I say of that man, who hath abused your trust and wronged our loves; but now to complaine is too late, nither can I complaine of your backwardnes, for I am perswaded it lys as heavie on your harts, as it doth on our purses or credites. And had the Lord sent Mr. Peirce safe home, we had eased both you and us of some of those debts; the Lord I hope will give us patience to bear these crosses; and that great God, whose care and providence is every where, and spetially over all those that desire truly to fear and serve him, direct, guid, prosper, and blesse you so as that you may be able (as I perswade my selfe you are willing) to discharge and take off this great and heavie burthen which now lyes upon me for your sakes; and I hope in the ende for the good of you, and many thousands more; for *had not you and we joyned and continued togeather, New-England might yet have been scarce knowne, I am perswaded, not so replenished and inhabited with honest English people, as now it is.* The Lord increase and blesse them, etc. So, with my continuall praiers for you all, I rest

Your assured loving friend,

James Sherley.

June 24. 1633.

By this it apperes when Mr. Sherly sould him the ship and all her accounts, it was more for Mr. Allertons advantage then theirs; and if they could get any there, well and good, for they were like to have

[1] The brackets are in the original MS.

nothing here. And what course was held to hinder them there, hath all ready beene manifested. And though Mr. Sherley became more sinsible of his owne condition, by these losses, and therby more sadly and plainly to complaine of Mr. Allerton, yet no course was taken to help them here, but all left unto them selves; not so much as to examene and rectifie the accounts, by which (it is like) some hundereds of pounds might have been taken off. But very probable it is, the more they saw was taken off, the less might come unto them selves. But I leave these maters, and come to other things.

Mr. Roger Williams (a man godly and zealous, having many precious parts, but very unsettled in judgmente) came over first to the Massachusets, but upon some discontente left that place, and came hither,[1] (wher he was friendly entertained, according to

[1] Roger Williams and his wife, Mary, came in the ship *Lyon*, William Peirce, master, leaving Bristol 1 December, 1630, and arriving off Nantasket 5 February, 1630–31. He was of a Welsh family, had been favored by Sir Edward Coke, and took a degree of Bachelor of Arts at Pembroke College in 1627. While holding a benefice in or near Lincolnshire, he became a Nonconformist and appears to have been one of the objects of Laud's persecutions. Letter to Mrs. Sadleir, 1652. *Narragansett Club*, VI. 239. Rev. John Wilson being then about to depart for England, his church invited Williams to supply his place during this absence; but Williams, as yet believed to be of moderate views, declined, on the ground that he "durst not officiate to an unseparated people." The church at Salem then expressed an intention of employing him, but the Boston magistrates warned against it, and succeeded in preventing his ordination. Winthrop, *History*, I. *52. He removed to Plymouth, where he "spake on the Lord's days and week-days, and wrought hard at the hoe for my bread (and so afterward at Salem), until I found them both professing to be a separated people in New England (not admitting the most godly to communion without a covenant), and yet communicating with the parishes in Old by their members repairing on frequent occasions thither." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, III. 316. He was in Plymouth in the latter part of 1631, and Winthrop gives an account of hearing him there in October, 1632. "On the Lord's Day there was a sacrament, which they did partake in; and, in the afternoon, Mr. Roger Williams (according to their custom) propounded a question, to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spake briefly; then Mr. Williams prophesied; and after that the governor of Plimouth [Bradford] spake to the question; after him the elder [Brewster]; then some two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder desired the governour of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the

their poore abilitie,) and exercised his gifts amongst them, and after some time was admitted a member of the church; and his teaching well approoved, for the benefite wherof I still blese God, and am thankfull to him, even for his sharpest admonitions and reproufs, so farr as they agreed with truth. He this year begane to fall into some strang opinions, and from opinion to practise; which caused some controversie betweene the church and him, and in the end some discontente on his parte, by occasion wherof he left them some thing abruptly. Yet after wards sued for his dismission to the church of Salem, which was granted, with some caution to

congregation in mind of their duty of contribution; whereupon the governour and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat, and put into the box, and then returned." Winthrop, *History*, I. *91. In 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 184, will be found the only letter of Roger Williams, dated from Plymouth.

Mather has entered in his compilation, the *Magnalia* (Book II. 13), an incident which may have reference to this time, and certainly concerned Williams' stay at Plymouth. "There were at this time in Plymouth two Ministers [Smith and Williams], leavened so far with the Humours of the Rigid Separation, that they insisted vehemently upon the Unlawfulness of calling any unregenerate man by the Name of *Good-man Such an One*, until, by their indiscreet urging of this Whimsey, the place began to be disquieted. The wiser people being troubled at these trifles, they took the opportunity of Governour Winthrop's being there, to have the thing publickly propounded in the Congregation; who in answer thereunto, distinguished between a *Theological* and a *Moral* Goodness; adding that when Juries were first used in England, it was usual for the Crier, after the Names of Persons fit for that Service were called over, to bid them all: *Attend, Good Men, and true;* whence it grew to be a Civil Custom in the English Nation, for Neighbours living by one another, to call one another *Good-man Such an One;* and it was pity now to make a stir about a Civil Custom so innocently introduced. And that speech of Mr. Winthrop's put a lasting stop to the Little, Idle, Whimsical Conceits, then beginning to grow Obstreperous." The form of address to the grand jury at Plymouth is to-day, "Good men of our county."

At Plymouth Williams gained a support as did his fellow townsmen, by laboring "day and night, at home and abroad, on the land and water, at the How, at the Oare, for bread," and living on small means. The little property he succeeded in accumulating, chiefly a heifer and three goats, was disposed of when he left Plymouth. 5 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, I. 250. He remained at Plymouth until late in 1633, when he departed for Salem. Winthrop, *History*, I. *117. John Cotton states that Williams was in the Bay before his own arrival, September 3, 1633, but the exact time of his leaving Plymouth is uncertain.

Providence 25 of 2th 1645 (to Calld)

Much honoured Sr

Though I should fraze yt all yr Sparkes of former
Love are now extinct (for yt I am confident not
Yr large Tokens of Wisedome & Expressions
of yr Affaires & Mine will not lightly condemne
my Endeavrs to give Information & Satisfaction
as now (of late done in this Roome. Apologies, with
all due respects presented to yr Honour &
yr hand of my worthy Friends with you.

Sr for things concerning yr Publike 3 dayes since I rec.
I rec'd a letter from ye Dutch Gov expressing
Some new hopes of Peace: For wch I salue yt flame
& Warre rag'th next doores unto us (the Narra
ragansetts & Monhiggins with their Sagamores
Confederates have deeply imbrued themselves
in Barbarous slaughters. For my selfe I have
(to my utmost) dissuaded & perswaded Neighbo & high & low
from Armes &c but there is a Spirit of Revenge
& Indignation fastned upon them, resolved to revenge ye
Death of their Prince & recover their Ransome
for his life &c or to perish with him. Sr I was
requested of both Parties yo Salue &c ye Nanigan
sets to keepe ye Peace & bloud shed & wrongs & warre
Salue & thine, & Youth & their Gentlemen: Sr I yt
Common Bonds of Humanitie moves me to pray yo
Salues & yr Friends of Connecticut to manage all
Endeavrs & opportunities to quench these flames.
Yr humble requests are to yr Wisedome yt Peace yt no
English Blood be shed in Warre (wch in America is often
Way to prosecute by Enemy (Provocations or
Prudent Necessities) Sr excepting yr mature &
grave Judgements & Counsels (for yt Father of Spirits) now
I am not a fitter Friend to draw and to Vs mighty
Salvation &c to ye Peace & Welfare of yr
Countrey than yr most humble & most obedient
Roger Williams.

them concerning him, and what care they ought to have of him.[1] But he soone fell into more things ther, both to their and the goverments troble and [196] disturbance. I shall not need to name perticulers, they are too well knowen now to all, though for a time the church here wente under some hard scensure by his occassion, from some that afterwards smarted them selves. But he is to be

[1] On the cause of Williams' removal from Plymouth Nathaniel Morton is the best authority. "In the year 1634, Mr. *Roger Williams* removed from *Plimouth* to *Salem:* he had lived about three years at *Plimouth*, where he was well accepted as an assistant in the Ministry to Mr. *Ralph Smith*, then Pastor of the Church there, but by degrees venting of divers of his own singular opinions, and seeking to impose them upon others, he not finding such a concurrence as he expected, he desired his dismission to the church of *Salem*, which though some were unwilling to, yet through the prudent counsel of Mr. *Brewster* (the ruling Elder there) fearing that his continuance amongst them might cause divisions, and there being then many able men in the Bay, they would better deal with him then themselves could, and foreseeing (what he professed he feared concerning Mr. *Williams*, which afterwards came to pass) that he would run the same course of rigid separation and Anabaptistry, which Mr. *John Smith* the Sebaptist at *Amsterdam* had done; the Church of *Plimouth* consented to his dismission, and such as did adhere to him were also dismissed, and removed with him, or not long after him to *Salem*." *New Englands Memoriall*. *78.

John Cotton, who had little reason to love Williams, intimates a political reason as well as one connected with the church. "For before my coming into *New-England*, the godly-wise and vigilant Ruling-Elder of *Plymouth* (aged Mr. *Bruister*) had warned the whole Church of the danger of his [Williams'] spirit, which moved the better part of the church, to be glad of his removall from them into the Bay. And in the Bay not long before my coming, he began to oppose the King's Patent with much vehemency, (as he had done at *Plymouth* before;) which made the Magistrates to feare, they should have more to doe with him, than with a man publickly acknowledged to be godly, and dearely beloved." *A Reply to Mr. Williams his Examination*, 4, printed with Cotton's *The Bloudy Tenent washed*, etc.

Somewhat later Williams obtained a copy of John Robinson's *Treatise on the Lawfulness of Hearing of the Ministers in the church of England*, first printed in 1634, and prepared a reply to it. This he sent to some of the elders of the Bay and received from them criticisms and objections. Williams' tract is lost, and it must have been a political as well as a religious writing, dealing with the question of a "national church," and with some of the conduct of Winthrop. 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 206. The incident may have been connected with the differences between Williams and the church at Plymouth while he resided there.

pitied, and prayed for, and so I shall leave the matter, and desire the Lord to shew him his errors, and reduce him into the way of truth, and give him a setled judgment and constancie in the same; for I hope he belongs to the Lord, and that he will shew him mercie.[1]

Having had formerly converse and fam[i]liarity with the Dutch, (as is before remembred,) they, seeing them seated here in a barren quarter, tould them of a river called by them the Fresh River, but now is known by the name of Conightecute-River, which they often comended unto them for a fine place both for plantation and trade, and wished them to make use of it.[2] But their hands being full otherwise, they let it pass. But afterwards ther coming a company of banishte Indeans into these parts, that were drivene out from thence by the potencie of the Pequents, which usurped upon

[1] In later years Roger Williams evidenced his good will to New Plymouth on many occasions, and rendered important service to both plantations in their relations with the Indians. Bradford died in 1657, and Williams in 1683; this history was written after 1640. It is evident that Bradford's opinion of Williams rested upon their earlier associations and even before the common peril of the Narragansett war had proved the loyalty and usefulness of the troublesome resident.

[2] In 1614 Adriaen Block, in his "jagt" *Onrust*, coasted along the south shore of New England, and discovered the mouth of a large river running northerly into the land. Finding few inhabitants near the opening into the Sound, he took his vessel up the river until he was stopped by rapids. At the latitude of 41° 48′ — somewhere between Hartford and Windsor — he found a village of the Indians, the names of whose tribe and chief are buried in the attempt of the narrator to reproduce the sound. For the Nawaas and the Sagamore Morahieck cannot be identified with any known names. He also met the Sequins, really the name of the chief, and heard of the Honikans, and, impressed by the flow of water, he called the river Versch or Fresh Water River. The Indians knew the river as the Quonehtacut or Connittecock. The Dutch traded in furs on the Fresh River, and one of their agents, Jacob Eelkens, committed an outrage upon the Indians in 1622, which threatened to break off all trading with the Dutch, and was severely punished by his superiors. It is claimed that the Dutch projected and began a small fort, "The Hope," on the Fresh River in 1623, but little could have been done, and the Dutch West India Company is charged with preventing the construction and settlement of the fort, not being desirous of favoring what might become a rival in the Indian trade. The opportunity to preëmpt this territory was thus lost, and some years passed before the Pilgrims of New Plymouth were invited to remove to that place, as described in the text.



THE CONNECTICUT RIVER

them, and drive them from thence, they often sollicited them to goe thither, and they should have much trade, espetially if they would keep a house ther.[1] And having now good store of comodities, and allso need to looke out wher they could advantage them selves to help them out of their great ingagments, they now begane to send that way to discover the same, and trade with the natives. They found it to be a fine place, but had no great store of trade; but the Indeans excused the same in regard of the season, and the fear the Ind[e]ans were in of their enemise. So they tried diverce times, not with out profite, but saw the most certainty would be by keeping a house ther, to receive the trad when it came down out of the inland. These Indeans, not seeing them very forward to build ther, solisited them of the Massachusets in like sorte (for their end was to be restored to their countrie againe); but they in the Bay being but latly come, were not fitte for the same; but some of their cheefe made a motion to joyne with the partners [2] here, to trade joyntly with them in that river, the which they were willing to imbrace, and so they should have builte, and put in equall stock togeather. A time of meeting was appointed at the Massachusets, and some of the cheefe here was appointed to treat with them, and went accordingly; but they cast many fears of deanger and loss and the like, which was perceived to be the maine obstacles, though they alledged they were not provided of trading goods. But those hear offered at presente to put in sufficente for both, provided they

[1] In April, 1631, Wahginnacut (or Wahgumacut), a sagamore of the Connecticut River, came to Boston, to invite the English to plant in his country, and offered them some solid inducements. Winthrop learned that he had the reputation of being a very treacherous man, and, further, of being at war with the "Pekoath," that is, the Pequots. When the same message came to Plymouth is not known, but it probably came from the same source, and, as stated in the text, before an appeal was made to the Bay authorities. The "banished Indians" were Mohicans, who had been subdued by the Pequots and had placed themselves under the protection of the Dutch. The Mohicans had, in 1628, been driven by the Mohawks from the Hudson, and had settled on the Fresh River.

[2] Bradford first wrote "people."

would become ingaged for the halfe, and prepare against the nexte year. They conffessed more could not be offered, but thanked them, and tould them they had no mind to it. They then answered, they hoped it would be no offence unto [197] them, if them sellves wente on without them, if they saw it meete.[1] They said there was no reason they should; and thus this treaty broake of, and those here tooke conveniente time to make a begining ther; and were the first English that both discovered that place, and built in the same, though they were litle better then thrust out of it afterward as may appeare.

But the Dutch began now to repente, and hearing of their purpose and preparation, inde[v]oured to prevente them, and gott in a litle before them, and made a slight forte, and planted ·2· peeces of ordnance, thretening to stopp their passage.[2] But they having

[1] On learning of the Dutch purchase and intention to erect a fort, the Governor went to Massachusetts Bay, and Winthrop gives the following account of the conference: "[July] 12. Mr. Edward Winslow, governour of Plimouth, and Mr. Bradford, came into the bay, and went away the 18th. They came partly to confer about joining in a trade to Connecticut, for beaver and hemp. There was a motion to set up a trading house there, to prevent the Dutch, who were about to build one; but, in regard the place was not fit for plantation, there being three or four thousand warlike Indians, and the river not to be gone into but by small pinnaces, having a bar affording but six feet at high water, and for that no vessels can get in for seven months in the year, partly by reason of the ice, and then the violent stream, etc., we thought not fit to meddle with it." *History*, I. *105. In spite of this refusal to coöperate, the ship of the Bay, the *Blessing*, was sent in August or September on a trading voyage to Long Island and Manhattan, passing by the mouth of the Connecticut, which they found barred at the entrance. At Manhattan the leader of the expedition told Van Twiller of the grant of Connecticut by the King of Great Britain to his own subjects, and desired him to forbear to build there. Van Twiller courteously made a counter claim in behalf of the West India Company, and asked that nothing be done until the matter was determined by the home authorities. *Ib.* *112.

[2] Winslow went to the Connecticut River in 1632, the year before the Dutch "began in the river," and he "had a place given (the place we after possessed)." In June, 1633, Wouter van Twiller sent Jacob van Curler and six others, to make a treaty with the Indians for lands on the Connecticut, and to establish a fort. On the eighth of the month Curler purchased a tract of land called Sickajoock, from Wapyquart

made a smale frame of a house ready, and haveing a great new-barke, they stowed their frame in her hold, and bords to cover and finishe it, having nayles and all other provisions fitting for their use. This they did the rather that they might have a presente defence against the Indeans, who weare much offended that they brought home and restored the right Sachem of the place (called Natawanute);[1] so as they were to incounter with a duble danger in this attempte, both the Dutch and the Indeans. When they came up the river, the Dutch demanded what they intended, and whither they would goe; they answered, up the river to trade (now their order was to goe and seat above them). They bid them strike, and stay, or els they would shoote them; and stood by ther ordnance

or Tattoepan, chief of the Sickenames River, who claimed to own the Fresh River. The fort mounted two guns, and was called "The Hope." Tattoepan held the land by conquest. Winslow claimed that "the Dutch came in by way of prevention, and stept in between us and our people, etc.; that this was done without superior order from either the states or their masters, the West India Company, and so confessed by Curler; that the river was not *vaccuum domicilium*, but inhabited the year before, etc." *To Winthrop*, April 6, 1643. Morton, *New Englands Memoriall* (Davis), 395. The Dutch claimed to have established a fort on the Fresh River in 1623, in which a garrison had always been stationed and maintained since that year, and that only the circumstances of the company prevented an occupation of Sloup's Bay, behind Cape Cod. *Deduction*, in *Documents relating to the History of New York*, II. 133, 134, 139.

[1] The Dutch call him "Attarbaenhoot." "I brought in Attawanhut, and there left him, where he lived and died upon the ground, whom Tatopan the tyrant had before expelled by war; that this Attawanhut, by the relation of Lieutenant Holmes, if he would have given way to it, would have cut off the Dutch, because they came in by Tatopan. I cannot remember all the particulars of that I gave under my owne hand writing, but one thing more of great consequence I call to mind, that Tatopan, for so we termed him, after he had chid me for bringing in his mortal enemy and countenancing him, as he did, would have had me (when indeed hee durst not attempt it againe upon him) to have given him but a knife, or but an awl blade, for his consent, to what I had done, which I utterly refused, etc. . . . But the truth is, I could say more about their [the Dutch] entrance, and the unworthiness of it, if I would bring our Governor [Bradford] on the stage, but will not, while it is under hand without his leave." *Winslow to Winthrop*, April 6, 1643, in Morton, *New Englands Memoriall* (Davis), 396. Tattoepan was later slain by the Dutch, and a curious controversy arose over his son Tausaquonawhut. 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 278.

VRYHEDEN

By de Vergaderinghe van de Regenthiene vande Geoctroyeerde West-Indiſche Compagnie vergunt aen alien den ghenen / die eenighe Colonien in Nieu-Nederlandt ſullen planten.

In het licht ghegheven

Om bekent te maken wat Profijten ende Voordeelen aldaer in Nieu-Nederlandt, voor de Coloniers ende der ſelver Patroonen ende Meeſters, midtſgaders de Participanten, die de Colonien aldaer planten, zijn becomen.



Weſtindjen Kan ſijn Nederlands groot gewin
Verkleynt ſijnds Machts brengt Silver-platen in

T'AMSTELREDAM,

Door Marten Ianſz Brandt Boeckverrooper / wooncnde by de nieuwe Beurſ / in de Gereformeerde Catechiſmus, Anno 1630.

ready fitted. They answered they had commission from the Gov[erno]r of Plimoth to goe up the river to shuch a place, and if they did shoote, they must obey their order and proceede; they would not molest them, but would goe one.[1] So they passed along, and though the Dutch threatened them hard, yet they shoot not. Comming to their place, they clapt up their house quickly, and landed their provissions, and left the companie appoynted, and sent the barke home; and afterwards palisadoed their house aboute, and fortified them selves better. The Dutch sent word home to the Monhatas what was done; and in proces of time, they sent a band of aboute·70· men, in warrlike maner, with collours displayed, to assaulte them; but seeing them strengt[h]ened, and that it would cost blood, they came to parley, and returned in peace.[2] And this

[1] Having failed to inlist the aid of Massachusetts, New Plymouth sent out this expedition under the command of William Holmes. October 25 found him above the Dutch fort and with his house and people landed. To him the Dutch protested: "demaunding of him to desist from his vndertaking; and depart from thence with all that hee had there from which vndertakings he did not desist but did further vse and frequent the lands of our high and mighty where neuer any English had been before; vpon the aforsaid Riuer by force of Armes Invading and vsu[r]ping against the rules of righteousnes to the great Injury and vilepending of the Netherlands State and by the apparent great hurt and losse as may further appeer by the protests and answares of William Holmes now extant and to bee seen and read." Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, x. 65. Holmes replied to the Dutch protest that he had been appointed by the Governor and Council of New Plymouth, and must remain until further orders from them; also that he was there and intended to remain, in the name of the King of England, whose servants they were. *Documents relating to the History of New York*, II. 140.

The Indian name of the place taken by Plymouth was Matianuck (Mettaneug, Mattaneaug), and the name remained while the Plymouth trading house was there. Apart from Jonathan Brewster, the records have preserved the name of one of the Plymouth men employed in the house, that of William Baker. His questionable record will be found in 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 215, where Roger Williams recalled something of his ill conduct when living at Plymouth. In the *Plymouth Col. Rec.* (I. 8, 102), he is mentioned in 1633 as hired to Richard Church, to saw and pit timber.

[2] This occurred late in 1634. On December 22, Winthrop recorded: "By a letter from Plimouth it was certified, that the Dutch of Hudson's River had been at Connecticut, and came in warlike manner to put the Plimouth men out of their house

was their enterance ther, who deserved to have held it, and not by freinds to have been thrust out, as in a sorte they were, as will after appere. They did the Dutch no wrong, for they took not a foote of any land they bought, but went to the place above them, and bought that tracte of land which belonged to these Indeans which they carried with them, and their friends, with whom the Dutch had nothing to doe. But of these matters more in another place.

It pleased the Lord to visite them this year with an infectious fevoure,[1] of which many fell very sicke, and upward of ·20· persons dyed, men and women, besides children, and sundry of them of their anciente friends which had lived in Holand; as Thomas Blossome,[2] Richard Masterson,[3] with sundry [198] others, and in the end (after he had much helped others) Samuell Fuller, who was their surgeon and phisition, and had been a great help and comforte unto them; as in his facultie, so otherwise, being a deacon of the church, a man godly, and forward to doe good, being much missed after his death; and he and the rest of their brethren much

there; but when they stood upon their defence, they departed, without offering any violence." *History*, I. *153.

[1] This wave of mortality led to an enactment providing for the proving of wills within one month after the death of the testator and for presenting a full inventory, duly valued, before letters of administration would be granted. The land assigned for the maintenance of himself and family could not be seized by creditors, and remained with his survivors; but other land could be sold to pay debts proved against the estate. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XI. 15. The settlement at Massachusetts Bay appears to have escaped a visitation from this sickness.

[2] Thomas Blossom and son were among those who came from Leyden to Plymouth, but were forced to return because of the failure of the *Speedwell*. Writing in 1625 he said: "God hath taken away my son that was with me in the ship, when I went back again; I have only two children which were born since I left you." *To Bradford and Brewster*, December 15, 1625. *Bradford Letter Book*. He came to New Plymouth in 1629. His widow, Anne, married Henry Rowley.

[3] Richard Masterson was one of the signers of the letter from Leyden to Bradford, in November, 1625, and then hoped to come to New Plymouth. *Bradford Letter Book*. He is supposed to have been a passenger in one of the vessels that arrived in 1629.

lamented by them, and caused much sadnes and mourning amongst them; which caused them to humble them selves, and seeke the Lord; and towards winter it pleased the Lord the sicknes ceased. This disease allso swept away many of the Indeans from all the places near adjoyning;[1] and the spring before, espetially all the *month of May*, ther was shuch a quantitie of a great sorte of flies, like (for bignes) to wasps, or bumble-bees, which came out of holes in the ground, and replenished all the woods, and eate the green-things, and made shuch a constante yelling noyes, as made all the woods ring of them, and ready to deafe the hearers. They have not by the English been heard or seen before or since.[2] But the Indeans tould them that sicknes would follow, and so it did in *June*, *July*, *August*, and the cheefe heat of sommer.

It pleased the Lord to inable them this year to send home a great quantity of beaver, besides paing all their charges, and debts at home, which good returne did much incourage their freinds in England. They sent in beaver 3366*li.* waight,[3] and much of it coat

[1] Winthrop merely says, under November, 1633: "A great mortality among the Indians. . . . The disease was the small pox. Some of them were cured by such means as they had from us; many of their children escaped, and were kept by the English." *History*, I. *116. Hubbard, on no known authority, asserts that "thousands of them were swept away." It is known that the tribes under John Sagamore and James Sagamore were practically wiped out, for the effort of the English to save the children proved unavailing, and that the disease reached as far as Pascataqua. Winthrop, I. *119, 120. Hubbard is also authority for the statement that the small-pox "it is said, is not usual among them [the Indians], if ever it was there known before." See vol. I. p. 223. He further states, perhaps with the case of Squanto in his mind, that the two chiefs "promised, if ever they recovered, to live with the English, and serve their God." The visitation was, of course, a providential casting out of the heathen to make way for God's people. *History*, 195.

[2] The insect was the *cicada septendecim* of Linnæus. Josselyn notes "great swarms of strange flyes up and down the Country, which was a presage of the following mortality." 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, III. 378.

[3] Sent by Graves, and formed one of the largest shipment of furs after 1630, being exceeded only by that of 1634. See p. 229, *infra*.

beaver, which yeeled 20*s*. per pound, and some of it above; and of otter-skines [1] ·346· sould also at a good prise.[2] And thus much of the affairs of this year.

[1] The skin was sold at ·14*s*· and· 15*s*· the pound. — BRADFORD.

[2] The shipment of beaver to London was so large as to lower the price. "You shall understand that the market is bad for bever, so that I have foreborne to sell it in hope of better, for the Plymouth marchants great parcell hath brought downe the prices." *Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.*, February 26, 1633–34. 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IX. 263.

Anno Dom: ·1634·

THIS year Mr. Thomas Prence was chosen Gov[erno]r.[1] Mr. Sherleys letters were very breefe in answer of theirs this year. I will forbear to coppy any part therof, only name a head or ·2· therin. First, he desires they will take nothing ill in what he formerly write, professing his good affection towards them as before, etc. 2*ly*. For Mr. Allertons accounts, he is perswaded they must suffer, and that in no small summes; and that they have cause enough to complaine, but it was now too late. And that he had failed them ther, those here, and him selfe in his owne aimes. And that now, having thus left them here, he feared God had left or would leave him, and it would not be strange, but a wonder if he fell not into worse things, etc. 3*ly*. He blesseth God and is thankfull to them for the good returne made this year. This is the effecte of his letters, other things being of more private nature.

I am now to enter upon one of the sadest things that befell them since they came;[2] but before I begine, it will be needfull to premise shuch parte of their patente as gives them right and priviledge at Kenebeck; as followeth; [199]

[1] "At this court [January 1, 1633–34], Mr. Thomas Prence was elected Governor for the yeare following, and to enter upon the place the first of March or the 27 of the same, and to execute the office of Governor for one whole yeare from the time of his entry. At the same time, Edw: Wynslow, Mr. Will. Bradford, Mr. Isaack Allerton, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Howland, and Mr. Stephen Hopkins [were] chosen to the office of Assistants to the said Governor, and to enter thereupon with the said Governor elect as aforesaid." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 21. Morton gives the name of Myles Standish in place of that of Isaac Allerton, and adds that of William Collier.

[2] This event must have taken place late in April or early in May. The news reached Boston May 3, 1634. The unsigned deposition printed in *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, IX. 80, says "upon — day of Aprill." P. 179, *infra*.

THOMAS PRENCE

The said Counsell hath further given, granted, barganed, sold, infeoffed, alloted, assigned, and sett over, and by these presents doe clearly and absolutely give, grante, bargane, sell, alliene, enffeofe, allote, assigne, and confirme unto the said William Bradford, his heires, associates, and assignes, [etc.] All that tracte of land or part of New-England in America afforesaid, which lyeth within or betweene, and extendeth it selfe from the utmost limits of Cobiseconte,[1] which adjoyneth to the river of Kenebeck, towards the westerne ocean, and a place called the falls of Nequamkick in America, aforsaid; and the space of ·15· English myles on each side of the said river, commonly called Kenebeck River, and all the said river called Kenebeck that lyeth within the said limits and bounds, eastward, westward, northward, and southward, last above mentioned; and all lands, grounds, soyles, rivers, waters, fishing, etc. And by vertue of the authority to us derived by his said late Ma[jes]tis L[etter]s patents, to take, apprehend, seise, and make prise of all shuch persons, their ships and goods, as shall attempte to inhabite or trade with the savage people of that countrie within the severall precincts and limits of his and their severall plantations, etc.

Now it so fell out, that one Hocking, belonging to the plantation of Pascataway,[2] wente with a barke and commodities to trade in

[1] The Cobiseconte, or Cobbesacontee, was a considerable stream which empties itself into the Kennebec River, on the western side of the river, about six miles below the present Cushnock. The Indians are said to have applied the name only to the mouth of the river. The name, in the language of the Abenakis, refers to the jumping of the sturgeon at the mouth of the stream. The falls of Nequamkick (Nequamke) were a rippling rather than a fall, and were some five or six miles nearer the sea than the Taconic falls. "The signification of Nequamke falls as the Indians have described to me is, by scooping down and up their hands, and they said, those falls took their name from such a motion of the water. Said Nequamkee falls do not any where fall perpendicularly, but are rather a rippling which break all times of the year, even when the river is flowed by the highest freshets." *1 Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, IV. 112. The patent, as printed in *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XI. 21, speaks of Cobbisecontee alias Comaseconte, Kenebeke alias Kenebekike.

[2] Edward Hilton, fishmonger, of London, is believed to have come to New England, settling at Pascataqua. There he was joined by his brother William, some time before 1627, who had lived since 1621 at Plymouth. They represented an association

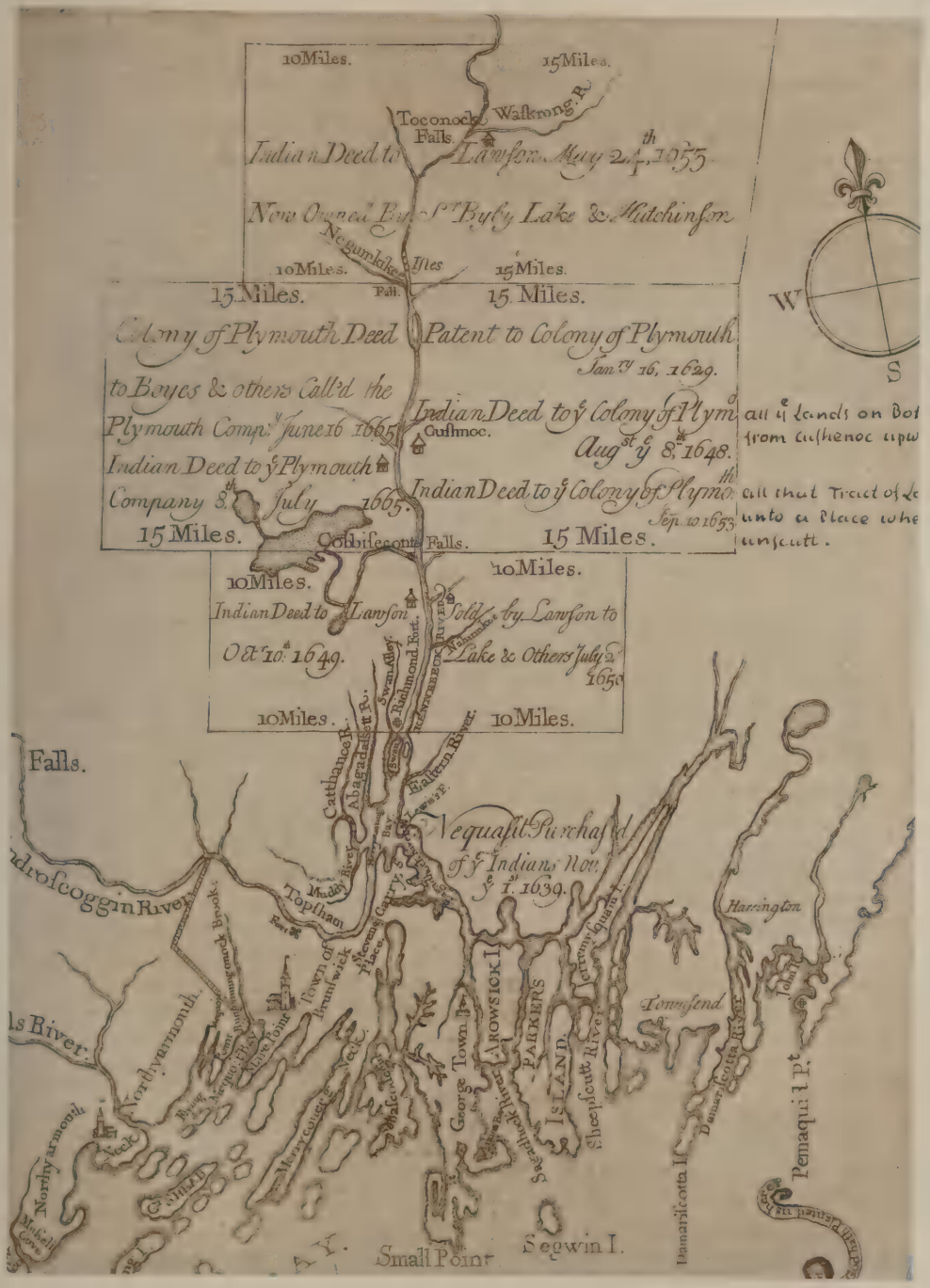
that river, and would needs press into their limites;[1] and not only so, but would needs goe up the river above their house, (towards the falls of the river,) and intercept the trade that should come to them. He that was cheefe of the place[2] forbad them, and prayed him that he would not offer them that injurie, nor goe aboute to infringe their liberties, which had cost them so dear. But he answered he would goe up and trade ther in dispite of them, and lye ther as longe as he pleased. The other tould him he must then be forced to remove him from thence, or make seasure of him if he could. He bid him doe his worste, and so wente up, and anchored ther. The other tooke a boat and some men and went up to him, when he saw his time, and againe entreated him to departe by what perswasion he could. But all in vaine: he could gett nothing of him but ill words. So he considred that now was the season for trade to come downe, and if he should suffer him to lye, and take it from them, all ther former charge would be lost, and they had better throw up all.[3] So, consulting with his men, (who were

composed of merchants of Bristol, Shrewsbury and other western towns. The settlement appears to have grown slowly, and in 1630 the Council for New England issued a patent to Edward Hilton and his associates ceding a place called by the natives Wecanacohunt, and by the English Hilton's Point, about two leagues from the Pascataquack River. (The grant, known as the Squamscott Patent, is printed in the *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, xxiv. 264.) A party of settlers came in 1631 under Captain Thomas Wiggin, who acted for the Shrewsbury men and others; and in the following year he returned to England to obtain a further sending of settlers and supplies. The interest of the Bristol men in the patent had now been purchased for £2,150 by a number of "honest men," among whom were Lord Saye, Lord Brooke, Sir Richard Saltonstall and Sir Arthur Hesilrige. A second party under Captain Wiggin came in the *Grant*, in October, 1633. Winthrop, *History*, i. *115.

[1] With Hocking were two men and a boy, presumably all from Pascataqua. The *Deposition* printed p. 179, *infra*, shows that Hocking had visited the place in 1633 and been disowned by the Pascataqua people.

[2] John Howland.

[3] The competition for the trade with the Indians increased as the shores were more visited by fishermen and occasional traders. Winter, who served at Richmond's Island, wrote to Trelawny, in June, 1634: "Heare is such store of these goods brought heare by the Bastable ships, that fills all the traders with goods, and they put yt



JOHNSTON'S MAP OF KENNEBEC.

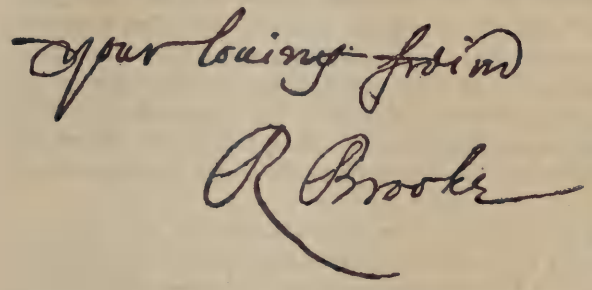
willing thertoe,) he resolved to put him from his anchores, and let him drive downe the river with the streame; but commanded the men that none should shoote a shote upon any occasion, except he

away at such easy Rates that I thinke they hardly get any thinge by them: Cootes at 2 pounds of bever a peece; Irish stockins at 2 pounds of bever per dosen, and good shurtes and waskotes at ½ pound of bever a pece. The Indians ar now so well seen into our tradinge Commodities, that heare is litle to be got by yt; for the traders do on vnder sell another and over throw the tradinge with the Indians altogether." *Trelawny Papers*, 29. On the other hand much risk attended trading with the settlers or fishermen. Winter complained that they were good buyers but poor payers, and added that the trading boats "ar hardly able to pay for any goods before they haue goods to get the bever, and we must be faine to trust them with goods, yf we meane to put yt away and receauve bever for yt; when they haue goot yt, goods doth pas at Reasonable Rates at the English, yf the price of bever do hold vpe, or else yt will be bad, for heare with vs theris no other payment for goods but bever." *Ib.* 51. In another letter (53) he gives a list of the commodities he sells to the English with the prices:

"Heare, I put away goods to the English now and then, bread at 6 lb. of bever, pease at 7 lb., cootes, somm at 2 lb., somm 2 lb. ¼, stockins 2 lb. per dozen, shues at 6 ounces and som at 7 ounces, but I sell but few; sacke and aquavite 2 gallons per lb. of bever, and som tymes but 6 or 7 quartes per lb., as the times do serue of plenty or scanty; veniger 4 gallons per lb., but sell no great quantity; I haue not sold a hodghed since I Came hither. The Coverletts do not sell well, not aboue ½ dozen sold of the best at 1 lb. and ¼ per pece; the hodghed of oyle none of yt sold, but I do purpose to send yt to the Colony [Virginia] in the James. The shurtes sent by the Hunter most sold, but at litle profitt, som for ½ lb. of bever, som at 6*s.* bever in 10*s.* per pound; the hatts yet all vnsold; some 6 of the Cittles [kettles] sold at 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb. of bever in 6*s.* per lb. At this tyme [October, 1634] goods do pas at these Rates, but when the ships ar heare we must sell as they do, or els we shall sell none, for every on doth striue to put away his goods, and on spoyleth the other. I haue but 2 hodgheds of aquavite left and on of sacke. I do not receave any Coote bever, but all new skins, and somm of yt thicke hides; but I must take such as they gett yf I purpose to put away your goods and by many small parcells. The wastcootes all sold, some at 3 quarters of bever per pece and som at 6*s.* a pece among the company."

While the Plymouth trading houses may have confined themselves to the trade with the Indians, using the goods obtained by the partners from England, they must have felt the competition and been obliged to make their prices to conform. Even at its worst the trade probably yielded large profits, and Josselyn says if the traders did "not gain cent per cent they cry out that they are losers." Winter himself charged all that the purchasers would pay, and six years later, in 1640, his extortion was exposed. *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1. 71.

commanded them. He spoake to him againe, but all in vaine; then he sente a cuple in a canow to cutte his cable, the which one of them performes; but Hocking takes up a pece which he had layed ready, and as the barke shered by the canow, he shote [200] him close under her side, in the head, (as I take it,) so he fell downe dead instantly.[1] One of his fellows (that loved him well) could not hold, but with a muskett shot Hocking, who fell downe dead and never speake word.[2] This was the truth of the thing. The rest of the men carried home the vessell and the sad tidings of these things. Now the Lord Saye and the Lord Brooke, with some other great persons, had a hand in this plantation; they write home to them, as much as they could to exasperate them in the matter, leaveing out all the circomstances, as if he had been kild without any offence of his parte, conceling that he had kild another first, and the just occasion that he had given in offering shuch wrong; at which their Lords[hi]ps were much offended, till they were truly informed of the mater.[3]



[1] Moses Talbott was the person shot.

[2] Winthrop gave the following additional information to Sir Nathaniel Rich: After Hocking had been shot, "another of Hockins company cominge up upon the decke one of the Pl[ymouth] men asked Howland if he should kill him allso, but he forbade him saying he feard there had been too many killed allreadye: the pinace beinge then driven on shore and in danger, the Pl[ymouth] men saved her, and putt one of their owne men into her to carrye her homewards towards Pasc[ataway]." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, xx. 44.

[3] "The Lords Say and Brook wrote to the Governour and Mr. Bellingham, that howsoever they might have sent a man of war to beat down the house at Kenebeck, for the death of Hockin, etc., yet they thought better to take another course; and therefore desired that some of ours might be joined with Captain Wiggin, their agent

The bruite of this was quickly carried all aboute, (and that in the worst manner,) and came into the Bay to their neighbours their. Their owne barke comming home, and bringing a true relation of the matter,[1] sundry were sadly affected with the thing, as they had

at Pascataquack, to see justice done, etc." Winthrop, *History*, I. *145. Before this letter had reached the Bay, the question at issue had been settled, as shown in note on page 188, *infra*.

[1] A deposition made at Plymouth is given in full as follows:

"Plymoth, 1634. Prenc Governor.

"This deponent saieth, that upon the —— day of Aprill, John Hocking riding at anker within our limitts above the howse, Mr. John Howland went up to him with our bark and charged the said Hocking to waye his ankcors and depart, who answered hee would not, with foule speeches, demaunding whie he spake not to him that sent him fourth. Answere was mad by John Howland that the last yeare a boat was sent, hauing no other busines, to know whether it was theire mind that hee should thus wronge us in our trade; who returned answer they sent him not hether, and therefore Mr. Howland tould him that hee would not now suffer him ther to ride. John Hocking demaunded what hee would doe, whether he would shout [shoot]; Mr. Howland answered no, but he would put him from thence. John Hocking said and swore he would not shoot, but swore iff we came a bord him he would send us ——. Thus passing by him we came to an anker sumthing nere his barke. Mr. Howland bid three of his men goe cutt his cable whose names were John Frish, Thomas Savory and William Rennoles, who presently cut one, but were putt by the other by the strength of the streme. Mr. Howland seeing they could not well bring the cannow to the other cable, caled him a bord, and bed Moses Talbott goe with them, who accordingly went very reddyly and brought the canow to Hocking's cable. He being upon the deck came with a carbine and a pistole in his hand and presently presented his peece at Thomas Savory; but the canow with the tide was put nere the bow of the barke, which Hocking seeing presently put his peece almost to Moyses Talbotts head, which Mr. Howland seeing called to him desiering him not to shut his man, but take himselfe for his mark; saying his men did but that which hee commaunded them, and therfore desiered him not to hurt any of them. If any wrong was don it was himselfe that did it, and therfore caled againe to him to take him for his marke, saying he stod very fayer; but Hocking would not heare nor looke towards our barke, but presently shooteth Moyses in the head, and presently took up his pistell in his hand, but the Lord stayed him from doing any further hurt; by a shot from our barke, himselfe was presently shoote dead, being shott neere the same place in the head where he had murderously shot Moyses." *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, IX. 80. This deposition may have been prepared by John Alden, as Winthrop and the colony Records state that he went with Howland to persuade Hocking to retire. From Winthrop it is also learned

cause.[1] It was not long before they had occasion to send their vessell into the Bay of the Massachusetts; but they were so prepossest with this matter, and affected with the same, as they commited Mr. Alden to prison, who was in the bark, and had been at Kenebeck, but was no actore in the bussines, but wente to carie them supply. They dismist the barke aboute her bussines, but kept him for some time. This was thought strange here, and they sente Capten Standish to give them true information, (togeather with their letters,) and the best satisfaction they could, and to procure Mr. Alden's release.[2] I shall recite a letter or ·2· which will show the passages of these things, as folloeth.

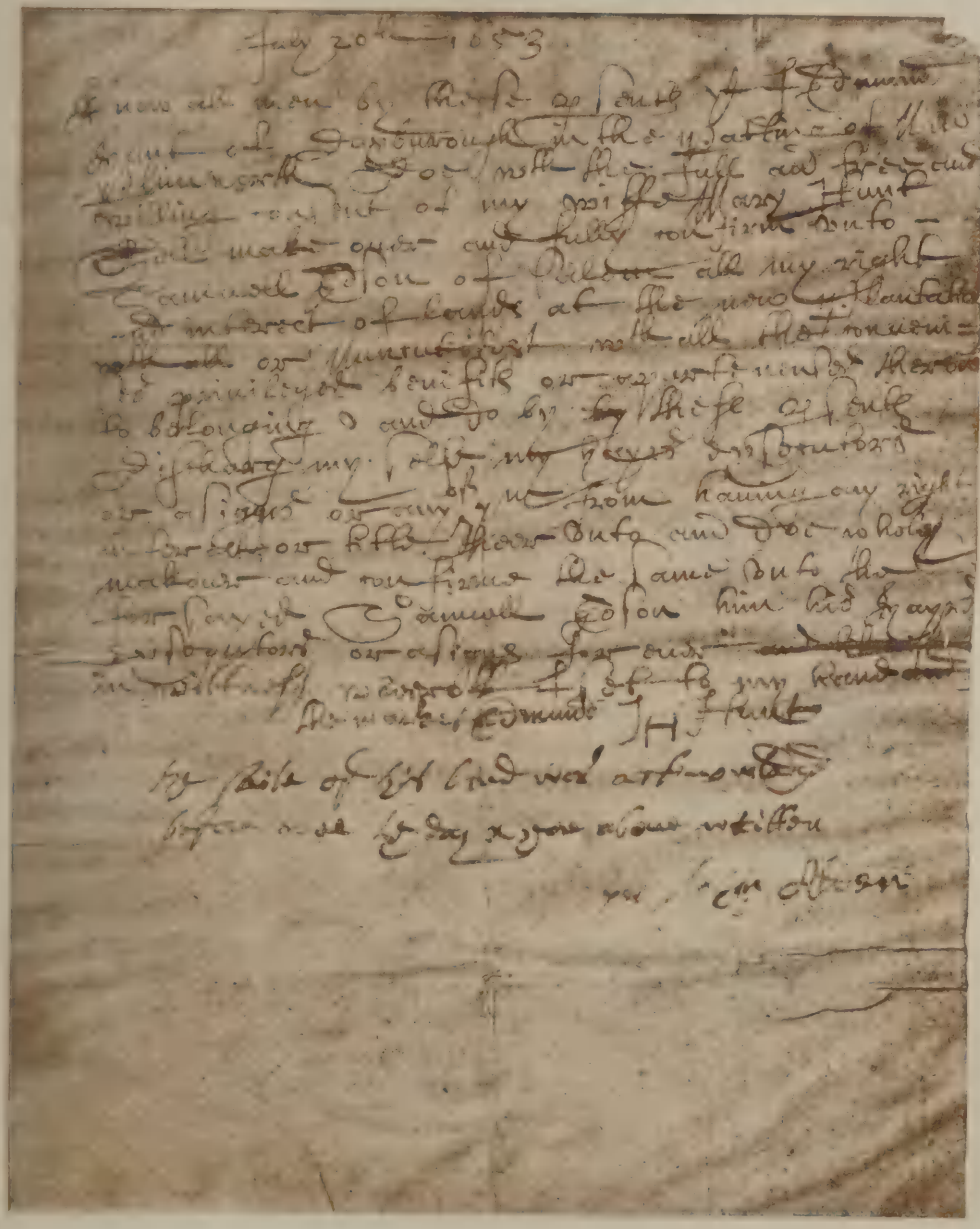
Good Sir:

I have received your letter by Captaine Standish, and am unfainedly glad of Gods mercie towards you in the recovery of your health, or

that about nine men accompanied Alden and Howland in the pinnace, of whom three were sent in ■ canoe to cut the cables of Hocking's boat. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, xx. 44; *Mass. Col. Rec.*, i. 119.

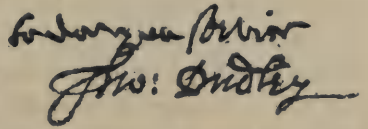
[1] "Upon the report of this we were muche grieved," wrote Winthrop to Sir Nathaniel Rich, "that suche an occasion should be offered to our enemyes to reproache our profession: and that suche an injurye should be offered to those honorable persons, who for love of us and for furtherance of our beginnings here had so farre e[ngaged] themselves with us, so as we wrote to them to knowe the truethe of the matter and whither they would advowe it they wrote to us againe relatinge the matter in effecte as I have expressed, with justification of the facte etc. yet declaringe their sorrowe, that it had hapned so sadlye, otherwise then they intended: but they did not doubt but their Grant would beare them out; upon this we refuse to holde communion with them till they give better satisfaction." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, xx. 44.

[2] A kinsman of Hocking made the complaint that led to Alden's detention "till answer be receaved from those of Plymouthe, whither they will trye the matter there or noe," under bonds not to leave the Bay without leave. His bondsmen were Timothy Hatherley and Lieutenant Richard Morris. This action was taken on May 14. *Mass. Col. Rec.*, i. 119. Before a week had passed Alden was released. Winthrop says: "Upon theire [Plymouth] answeare, that themselves would doe justice in the cause we remitted him to them, as havinge no jurisdiction in it to trye it our selves. All that we ayme at is that they may come to see their sinne and repente of it. Which if they shall doe, I would intreat you to intercede with the Lords for them, that the injurye and discourtesy may be passed by, upon suche satisfaction as they can make." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, xx. 45.



JOHN ALDEN, 1653.

some way thertoo. For the bussines you write of, I thought meete to answer a word or ·2· to your selfe, leaving the answer of your Gov[erno]r's letter to our courte, to whom the same, together with my selfe is directed. I conceive (till I hear new matter to the contrary) that your patente may warrante your resistance of any English from trading at Kenebeck, and that blood of Hocking, and the partie he slue, will be required at his hands. Yet doe I with your selfe and others sorrow for their deaths. I thinke likewise that your generall letters will satisfie our courte, and make them cease from any further inter medling in the mater. I have upon the same letter sett Mr. Allden at liberty, and his sureties, and yet, least I should seeme to neglecte the opinion of our court and the frequente speeches of others with us, I have bound Captaine Standish to appeare the ·3· of June at our nexte courte, to make affidavid for the coppie of the patente, and to manifest the circumstances of Hockins provocations; both which will tend to the clearing of your innocencie. If any unkindnes hath ben taken from what we have done, let it be further and better considred of, I pray you; and I hope the more you thinke of it, the lesse blame you will impute to us. At least you ought to be just in differencing them, whose opinions concurr [201] with your owne, from others who were opposites; and yet I may truly say, I have spoken with no man in the bussines who taxed you most, but they are shuch as have many wayes heretofore declared ther good affections towards your plantation. I further referr my selfe to the reporte of Captaine Standish and Mr. Allden; leaving you for this presente to Gods blessing, wishing unto you perfecte recovery of health, and the long continuance of it. I desire to be lovingly remembred to Mr. Prence, your Gov[erno]r, Mr. Winslow, Mr. Brewster, whom I would see if I knew how. The Lord keepe you all. Amen.



Your very loving freind in our Lord Jesus,

THO: DUDLEY.[1]

New-towne, the 22. of May, 1634.

[1] Dudley had been elected governor on May 14, and this affair of Hocking was

Another of his about these Things as followeth.

Sir: I am right sorrie for the news that Captaine Standish and other of your neighbours and my beloved freinds will bring now to Plimoth, wherin I suffer with you, by reason of my opinion, which differeth from others, who are godly and wise, amongst us here, the reverence of whose judgments causeth me to suspecte myne owne ignorance; yet must I remaine in it untill I be convinced therof. I thought not to have shewed your letter written to me, but to have done my best to have reconciled differences in the best season and maner I could; but Captaine Standish requiring an answer therof publickly in the courte, I was forced to produce it, and that made the breach soe wide as he can tell you. I propounded to the courte, to answer Mr. Prences letter, your Gov[erno]r, but our courte said it required no answer, it selfe being an answer to a former letter of ours. I pray you certifie Mr. Prence so much, and others whom it concerneth, that no neglecte or ill manners be imputed to me theraboute. The late letters I received from England wrought in me diver[s]e fears [1] of some trials which are shortly like to fall upon us; and this unhappie contention betweene you and us, and between you and Pascattaway, will hasten them, if God with an extraordinarie hand doe not help us. To reconcile this for the presente will be very difficulte, but time cooleth distempers, and a comone danger to us boath approaching, will necessitate our uniting againe. I pray you therfore, Sir, set your wisdom and patience a worke, and exhorte others to the same, that things may not proceede from bad to worse, so making our contentions like the barrs of a pallace, but that a way of peace may be kepte open, wherat the God of peace may have enterance in his owne time. If you suffer wrong, it shall be your honour to bear it patiently; but I goe to farr in needles putting you in mind of these things. God hath done great things for you, and I desire his blessings may be mul-

one of the first to come before him. These two letters were probably written to Bradford, although Prence was then governor of New Plymouth.

[1] The next paragraphs were intended by Bradford as a note to this word, but for convenience, are incorporated in the text. A ☞ is in the margin against the line.

tiplied upon you more and more. I will commite no more to writing, but comending my selfe to your prayers, doe rest,

Your truly loving freind in our Lord Jesus,

THO: DUDLEY.

June 4. 1634.

Ther was cause enough of these feares, which arise by the underworking of some enemies to the churches here, by which this Commission following was procured from his Ma[jes]tie.[1]

Commission for Regulating Plantations.

Charles by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

To the most Reve[ren]d father in Christ, our wellbeloved and faithfull counselour, William, by devine providence Archbishop of Counterbery, of all England Primate and Metropolitan; Thomas Lord Coventry, Keeper of our Great Seale of England; the most Reverente father in Christ our wellbeloved and most faithful Counselour, Richard, by devine providence Archbishop of Yorke, Primate and Metropolitan; our well-beloved and most faithfull coussens and Counselours, Richard, Earle of Portland, our High Treasurer of England; Henery, Earle of Manchester, Keeper of our Privie Seals; Thomas, Earle of Arundalle and Surry, Earle Marshall of England; Edward, Earle of Dorsett, Chamberline of our most dear consorte, the Queene; and our beloved and faithfull Counselours, Francis Lord Cottington, Counseler,[2] and Undertreasurour of our Eschequour; Sir Thomas Edmonds, knight, Treasourer of our houshould; Sir Henery Vane, Knight, controuler of the same houshould; Sir John Cooke, Knight, one of our Privie Secretaries; and Francis Windebanck, Knight, another of our Privie Secretaries, Greeting.[3]

Wheras very many of our subjects, and of our late fathers of beloved memory, our sovereigne lord James, late king of England, by means of lycence royall, not only with desire of inlarging the teritories of our empire, but cheefly out of a pious and religious affection, and desire of propagating the

[1] The text in Latin is in Hazard, I. 344, dated April 10, 1634.

[2] Intended for "Chancellor."

[3] Before June of this year, William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, was added to the commission.

gospell of our Lord Jesus Christ, with great industrie and expences have caused to be planted large Collonies of the English nation, in diverse parts of the world alltogether unmanured, and voyd of inhabitants, or occupied of the barbarous people that have no knowledge of divine worship. We being willing to provide a remedy for the tranquillity and quietnes of those people, and being very confidente of your faith and wisdom, justice and providente circomspection, have constituted you the aforesaid Archbishop of Counterburie, Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England, the Archbishop of Yorke, etc. and any · 5 · or more, of you, our Comissioners; and to you, and any · 5 · or more of you, we doe give and commite power for the govermente and safftie of the said collonies, drawen, or which, out of the English nation into those parts hereafter, shall be drawne, to make lawes, constitutions, and ordinances, pertaining ether to the publick state of these collonies, or the private profite of them; and concerning the lands, goods, debts, and succession in those parts, and how they shall demeane them selves, towards foraigne princes, and their people, or how they shall bear them selves towards us, and our subjects, as well in any foraine parts whatsoever, or on the seas in those parts, or in their returne sayling home; or which may pertaine to the clargie govermente, or to the cure of soules, among the people ther living, and exercising trade in those parts; by designing out congruente porcions arising in tithes, oblations, and other things ther, according to your sound discretions, in politicall and civill causes; and by haveing the advise of · 2 · or · 3 · bishops, for the setling, making, and ordering of the bussines, for the designeing of necessary ecclesiasticall, and clargie porcions, which you shall cause to be called, and taken to you. And to make provission against the violation of those laws, constitutions, and ordinances, by imposing penealties and mulcts, imprisonmente if ther be cause, and the quality of the offence doe require it, by deprivation of member, or life, to be inflicted. With power allso (our assente being had) to remove, and displace the governours or rulers of those collonies, for causes which to you shall seeme lawfull, and others in their stead to constitute; and require an accounte of their rule and govermente, and whom you shall finde culpable, either by deprivation from their place, or by impossition of a mulcte upon the goods of them in those parts to be levied, or banishmente from those provinces in which they have been gove[rno]r or otherwise to cashier according to the quantity of the offence. And to constitute judges, and magistrates politicall and civill, for civill causes and under the power and forme, which to you · 5 · or more of you shall seeme expediente. And judges and magistrates and dignities, to causes ecclesiasticall, and under the power and forme which

to you · 5 · or more of you, with the bishops vicegerents (provided by the Archbishop of Counterbure for the time being), shall seeme expediente; and to ordaine courts, pretoriane and tribunall, as well ecclesiasticall, as civill, of judgmentes; to detirmine of the formes and maner of procceedings in the same; and of appealing from them in matters and causes as well criminall, as civill, personall, reale, and mixte, and to their seats of justice, what may be equall and well ordered, and what crimes, faults, or excessess, of contracts or injuries ought to belonge to the Ecclesiasticall courte, and what to the civill courte, and seate of justice.

Provided never the less, that the laws, ordinances, and constitutions of this kinde, shall not be put in execution, before our assent be had therunto in writing under our signet, signed at least, and this assente being had, and the same publikly proclaimed in the provinces in which they are to be executed, we will and command that those lawes, ordinances, and constitutions more fully to obtaine strength and be observed and shall be inviolably of all men whom they shall concerne.

Notwithstanding it shall be for you, or any · 5 · or more of you, (as is afforsaid,) allthough those lawes, constitutions, and ordinances shalbe proclaimed with our royall assente, to chainge, revocke, and abrogate them, and other new ones, in forme afforsaid, from time to time frame and make as afforesaid; and to new evills arissing, or new dangers, to apply new remedyes as is fitting, so often as to you it shall seeme expediente. Furthermore you shall understand that we have constituted you, and every · 5· or more of you, the afforesaid Archbishop of Counterburie, Thomas Lord Coventrie, Keeper of the Great Seale of England, Richard, Bishop of Yorke, Richard, Earle of Portland, Henery, Earle of Manchester, Thomas, Earle of Arundale and Surry, Edward, Earell of Dorsett, Francis Lord Cottinton, Sir Thomas Edwards [Edmonds], knighte, Sir Henry Vane, knight, Sir Francis Windebanke, knight, our comissioners to hear, and determine, according to your sound discretions, all maner of complaints either against those collonies, or their rulers, govenours, at the instance of the parties greeved, or at their accusation brought concerning injuries from hence, or from thence, betweene them, and their members to be moved, and to call the parties before you; and to the parties or to their procurators, from hence, or from thence being heard the full complemente of justice to be exhib[i]ted. Giving unto you, or any · 5· or more of you power, that if you shall find any of the colonies afforesaid, or any of the cheefe rulers upon the jurisdictions of others by unjust possession, or usurpation, or one against another making greevance, or in rebelion against

us, or withdrawing from our aleg[i]ance, or our comandaments, not obeying, consultation first with us in that case had, to cause those colonies, or the rulers of them, for the causes afforesaid, or for other just causes, either to returne to England, or to comand them to other places designed, even as according to your sounde discretions it shall seeme to stand with equitie, and justice, or necessitie. Moreover we doe give unto you, and any ·5· or more of you, power and spetiall command over all the charters, leters patents, and rescripts royall, of the regions, provinces, ilands, or lands in foraigne parts, granted for raising colonies, to cause them to be brought before you, and the same being received, if any thing surrepticiously or unduly have been obtained, or that by the same priviledges, liberties, and prerogatives hurtfull to us, or to our crowne, or to foraigne princes, have been prejudicially suffered, or granted; the same being better made knowne unto you ·5· or more of you, to command them according to the laws and customs of England to be revoked, and to doe shuch other things, which to the profite and safgard of the aforesaid collonies, and of our subjects residente in the same, shall be necessary. And therfore we doe command you that aboute the premisses at days and times, which for these things you shall make provission, that you be diligente in attendance, as it becometh you; giveing in precepte also, and firmly injoyning, we doe give command to all and singuler cheefe rulers of provinces into which the colonies afforesaid have been drawne, or shall be drawne, and concerning the collonies themselves, and concerning others, that have been interest therin, that they give atendance upon you, and be observante and obediente unto your warrants in those affaires, as often as, and even as in our name they shall be required, at their perill. In testimoney whereof, we have caused these our letters [to] be made pattente. Wittnes our selfe at Westminster the ·28· day of Aprill, in the tenth year of our Raigne.

By write from the privie seale,

WILLIES.

Anno Dom: 1634.

By these things it app[e]ars what troubles rise herupon, and how hard they were to be reconciled; for though they hear were hartily sorrie for what was fallen out, yet they conceived they were unjustly injuried, and provoked to what was done; and that their neigbours (haveing no jurisdiction over them) did more then was mete, thus to imprison one of theirs, and bind them to [202] their courte. But yet being assured of their Christian love, and per-

swaded what was done was out of godly zeale, that religion might not suffer, nor sinne any way covered or borne with, espetially the guilte of blood, of which all should be very consciencious in any whom soever, they did indeavore to appease and satisfie them the best they could; first, by informing them the truth in all circomstances aboute the matter; 2*ly*, in being willing to refferr the case to any indifferante and equall hearing and judgmente of the thing hear, and to answere it els wher when they should be duly called therunto; and further they craved Mr. Winthrops, and other of the reve[ren]d magistrates ther, their advice and direction herein. This did mollifie their minds, and bring things to a good and comfortable issue in the end.

For they had this advice given them by Mr. Winthrop, and others concurring with him, that from their courte, they should write to the neigboure plantations, and espetially that of the lords, at Pascataway, and theirs of the Massachusets, to appointe some to give them meeting at some fitt place, to consulte and determine in this matter, so as the parties meeting might have full power to order and bind, etc. And that nothing be done to the infringing or prejudice of the liberties of any place. And for the clearing of conscience, the law of God is, that the preist['s] lips must be consulted with,[1] and therfore it was desired that the ministers of every plantation might be presente to give their advice in pointe of conscience. Though this course seemed dangerous to some, yet they were so well assured of the justice of their cause, and the equitie of their freinds, as they put them selves upon it, and appointed a time, of which they gave notice to the severall places a month before hand; viz. Massachusets, Salem, and Pascataway, or any other that they would give notice too, and disired them to produce any evidence they could in the case. The place for meeting was at Boston. But when the day and time came none appered, but some of the magistrates and ministers of the Massachusets, and their

[1] Malachi, II. vii.

owne. Seeing none of Passcataway or other places came, (haveing been thus desired, and conveniente time given them for that end,) Mr. Winthrop and the rest said they could doe no more then they had done thus to requeste them, the blame must rest on them. So they fell into a fair debating of things them selves; and after all things had been fully opened and discussed, and the oppinione of each one demanded, both magistrates, and ministers, though they all could have wished these things had never been, yet they could not but lay the blame and guilt on Hockins owne head; and with all gave them shuch grave and godly exhortations and advice, as they thought meete, both for the presente and future; which they allso imbraced with love and thankfullnes, promising to indeavor to follow the same.[1] And thus was this matter ended, and ther love

[1] Winthrop gives an account of this meeting, under date July 19, 1634. "Mr. Bradford and Mr. Winslow, two of the magistrates of Plimouth, with Mr. [Ralf] Smith, their pastor, came to Boston by water, to confer with some of our magistrates and ministers about their case of Kenebeck. There met hereabout Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Wilson, and after they had sought the Lord, they fell first upon some passages which they had taken some offence at, but those were soon cleared. Then for the matter itself, it fell into these two points: 1, whether their right of trade there were such, as they might lawfully hinder others from coming there; 2, admitting that, whether in point of conscience, they might so far stand upon their right as to take away or hazard any man's life in defence of it.

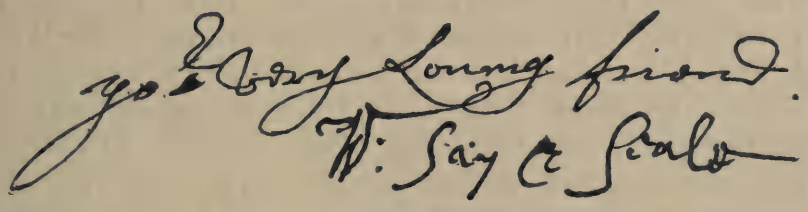
"For the first, their right appeared to be good; for that, besides the king's grant, they had taken up that place as vacuum domicilium, and so had continued, without interruption or claim of any of the natives, for divers years; and also had, by their charge and providence, drawn down thither the greatest part of the trade, by carrying wampampeage thither, which none of the English had known the use of before. For the second, they alleged, that their servant did kill Hockin to save other of their men, whom he was ready to have shot. Yet they acknowledged, that they did hold themselves under guilt of the breach of the sixth commandment, in that they did hazard man's life for such a cause, and did not rather wait to preserve their right by other means, which they rather acknowledged, because they wished it were not done; and hereafter they would be careful to prevent the like.

"The governour [Dudley] and Mr. Winthrop wrote their letters in to England to mediate their peace, and sent them by Mr. Winslow." *History*, 1. *136.

This does not appear to have closed the incident, as on September 19, Bradford

and concord renewed; and also Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Dudley write in their behalfes to the Lord Say and other gentle-men that were interesed in that plantation, very effectually, with which, togeather with their owne leters, and Mr. Winslows furder declaration of things unto them, they rested well satisfied. [203] [1]

Mr. Winslow was sente by them this year into England, partly to informe and satisfie the Lord Say and others, in the former matter, as also to make answer and their just defence for the same, if any thing should by any be prosecuted against them at Counsell-table, or els wher; but this matter tooke end, without any further trouble, as is before noted. And partly to signifie unto the partners in Eng-



and William Collier went to Boston, having failed for one week by reason of foul weather to attend a meeting called on the Hocking affair. *History*, I. *139.

The frontier traders who frequented the fishing coasts, like all subsequent traders of the same character, were difficult to control, and intent solely upon their own gain or pleasure. Winter asserted in 1635, "heare lackes good government in the land, for a great many men deall very yll heare for want of government." *Trelawny Papers*, 61. As respects drinking, the description given by Josselyn, in 1668, held true for the earlier period, and the loose morals of the frontier traders were a scandal to the Bay people; nor was any improvement observable in these respects until after the close of the 17th century.

[1] "One pleasant passage happened, which was acted by the Indians. Mr. Winslow, coming in his bark from Connecticut to Narigansett, — and he left her there, — and intending to return by land, he went to Osamekin [Massasoit] the sagamore, his old ally, who offered to conduct him home to Plimouth. But, before they took their journey, Osamekin sent one of his men to Plimouth to tell them that Mr. Winslow was dead; and directed him to show how and where he was killed. Whereupon there was much fear and sorrow at Plimouth. The next day, when Osamekin brought him home, they asked him why he sent such word, etc. He answered, that it was their manner to do so, that they might be more welcome when they came home." Winthrop, *History*, I. *138. The entry was made in the fall of 1634, but may not apply to that year.

land, that the terme of their trade with the company here was out, and therfore he was sente to finishe the accounts with them, and to bring them notice how much debtore they should remaine on that accounte, and that they might know what further course would be best to hold. But the issue of these things will appear in the next years passages. They now sente over by him a great returne, which was very acceptable unto them; which was in beaver 3738*li.* waight, (a great part of it, being coat-beaver, sould at 20*s.* per pound,) and · 234 · otter skines; [1] which alltogeather rise to a great sume of money.

This year (in the foreparte of the same) they sente forth a barke to trade at the Dutch-Plantation; and they mette ther with on Captaine Stone,[2] that had lived in Christophers, one of the West-Ende [India] Ilands, and now had been some time in Virginia, and came from thence into these parts. He kept company with the Dutch Gove[rno]r, and, I know not in what drunken fitt, he gott leave of the Gov[erno]r to cease on their barke, when they were ready to come away, and had done their markett, haveing the valew of 500*li.* worth of goods abord her; having no occasion at all, or any collour of ground for shuch a thing,[3] but having made the Gov[erno]r drunck, so as he could scarce speake a right word; and

[1] And the skin at 14*s.*—Bradford. Winthrop notes the large trade in skins enjoyed by the Plymouth people this year at Kennebec, "so as Mr. Winslow carried with him into England, this year, about twenty hogsheads of beaver, the greatest part whereof was traded for wampampeage." *History*, I. *138.

[2] In June [May], 1633, while the patroon, David Pietersen de Vries, sailed from Manhattan for Holland, he saw an English vessel at Sandy Hook, trying to make the harbor, but sailing to disaster. He signaled her and coming up to her found she was commanded by an old acquaintance, Stone, whom he had met in the West Indies and at Jamestown. Stone was bringing some cattle from Virginia to New England, and wished to put in at Manhattan for water. De Vries gave him a pilot, and the ship came to anchor near Fort Amsterdam. Winthrop places this transaction at Manhattan in 1633.

[3] Winthrop says Stone, "upon pretence that those of Plimouth had reproached them of Virginia, from whence he came, seized upon their pinnace." *History*, I. *104. The governor was Wouter van Twiller.

when he urged him hear aboute, he answered him, *Als't u beleeft.*[1] So he gat abord, (the cheefe of their men and marchant being ashore,) and with some of his owne men, made the rest of theirs waigh anchor, sett sayle, and carry her away towards Virginia. But diverse of the Dutch sea-men, which had bene often at Plimoth, and kindly entertayned ther, said one to another, Shall we suffer our freinds to be thus abused, and have their goods carried away, before our faces, whilst our Gov[erno]r is drunke? They vowed they would never suffer it; and so gott a vessell or ·2· and pursued him, and brought him in againe, and delivered them their barke and goods againe.[2]

After wards Stone came into the Massachusets, and they sent and commensed suite against him for this facte; but by mediation of freinds it was taken up, and the suite lett fall.[3] And in the company of some other gentle-men Stone came afterwards to Plimoth, and had freindly and civill entertainmente amongst them, with the rest; but revenge boyled within his brest, (though concelled;) for some conceived he had a purpose (at one time) to have stapted the Gov[erno]r, and put his hand to his dagger for that end, but by Gods providence and the vigilance of some was prevented. He afterward returned to Virginia, in a pinass, with one Captaine

[1] "That is, 'If you please.'" DEANE.

[2] Both the Dutch governor and Captain Stone, on the following day, entreated the master of the pinnace, who was one of the Council of Plymouth, "to pass it by, which he promised by a solemn instrument under his hand." Standish was later sent to Boston to take proceedings against Stone.

[3] Stone brought his ship to Boston June 2, as Winthrop records, and Captain Standish came from Plymouth to prosecute him for piracy. Stone was bound over to appear before the admiralty court in England; but the instrument made by the master of the pinnace was used in such a way as to persuade the Plymouth people they could not prove piracy, and to press the case would turn to their reproach, so the captain was discharged. He possessed a quick temper and soon fell under the displeasure of the Massachusetts Bay magistrates. For the September court fined him heavily and forbade him on pain of death the privilege of coming into the patent without permission. The provocation is described in Winthrop, I. *111.

Norton[1] and some others; and, I know not for what occasion, they would needs goe up Coonigtecutt River; and how they carried themselves I know not, but the Indeans knoct him in the head, as he lay in his cabine, and had thrown the covering over his face (whether out of fear or desperation is uncertaine); this was his end.[2] They likewise killed all the rest, but Captaine Norton defended him selfe a long time against them all in the cooke-roome, till by accidente the gunpowder tooke fire, which (for readynes) he had sett in an open thing before him, which did so burne, and scald him, and blind his eyes, as he could make no longer resistance, but was slaine also by them, though they much comended his vallour. And having killed the men, they made a pray of what they had, and chafered away some of their things to the Dutch that lived their. But it was not longe before a quarell fell betweene the Dutch and them, and they would have cutt of their bark; but they slue the cheef sachem with the shott of a murderer.[3]

[1] Walter Norton. See a curious entry in Savage, *Dictionary*, III. 293, under this name.

[2] The news of the murder of Stone reached Boston, by way of Plymouth, January 21, 1633–34.

[3] The two paragraphs above were written on the reverse of folio 202 of the manuscript. The Indian version of the murder is given in Winthrop, *History*, I. *148, and in Underhill, *Newes from America* (1638), 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 8. Stone is said to have intended to reach the Dutch fort to trade, and needed Indians as guides. There is nothing improbable in their story of his maltreatment of them. Another report tells of the killing by the Pequots of some Indians who were on their way to trade their furs at the Dutch fort. To avenge the double murder the Dutch commander at The Hope, Van Curler, executed "the old sachem and some other" of the guilty; but it is more likely that Tattoepan lost his life in a quarrel, as Bradford relates, or in consequence of open war between the Pequots and the Dutch. One of the results was the embassy to the Massachusetts Bay in November in which the Indians' rights at Connecticut were offered to the English. Winthrop, *History*, I. *147.

The punishment inflicted upon the Pequots for this murder will be told under later years. John Mason asserts that the murderers were not "native Pequots, but had frequent recourse unto them, to whom they tendered some of those [Stone's] Goods, which were accepted by the Chief Sachem of the Pequots: other of the said Goods were tendered to Nynigrett Sachem of Nayanticke, who also received them." *Brief History of the Pequot War.*

I am now to relate some strange and remarkable passages. Ther was a company of people lived in the country, up above in the river of Conigtecut, a great way from their trading house ther, and were enimise to those Indeans which lived aboute them, and of whom they stood in some fear (b[e]ing a stout people). About a thousand of them had inclosed them selves in a forte, which they had strongly palissadoed about. ·3·or·4·Dutch men went up *in the begining of winter* to live with them, to gett their trade, and prevente them for bringing it to the English, or to fall into amitie with them; but *at spring* to bring all downe to their place. But their enterprise failed, for it pleased God to visite these Indeans with a great sicknes, and shuch a mortalitie that of a·1000·above·900· and a halfe of them dyed, and many of them did rott above ground for want of buriall, and the Dutch men allmost starved before they could gett away, for ise and snow. But about Feb[ruary], they got with much difficultie to their trading house; whom they kindly releeved, being allmost spente with hunger and could. Being thus refreshed by them diverce days, they got to their owne place, and the Dutch were very thankfull for this kindnes.

This spring, also, those Indeans that lived aboute their trading house there fell sick of the small poxe,[1] and dyed most miserably;

[1] The epidemic which had raged in November of the previous year passed from tribe to tribe, and spread over wide territory. Brébeuf, missionary among the Hurons in 1635, noted that almost no one who returned by canoe from trading was not afflicted with this contagion. "It has been so universal among the savages of our acquaintance that I do not know if one has escaped its attacks." He described the sickness as beginning with violent fever, which was followed by a sort of measles or smallpox, "different, how ever, from that common in France, accompanied in several cases by blindness for some days, or by dimness of sight, and terminated at length by diarrhœa which has carried off many." *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites), VIII. 87, 89; Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, 87.

Roger Williams noted that the customary visit to the sick, "a poore empty visit and presence" among the Indians, was omitted in infectious diseases; "and then all forsake them and flie, that I have often seene a poore House left alone in the wild Woods, all being fled, the living not able to bury the dead: so terrible is the apprehension of an infectious disease, that not only persons, but the Houses and the whole

for a sorer disease cannot befall them; they fear it more then the plague; for usualy they that have this disease have them in abundance, and for wante of bedding and linning and other helps, they fall into a lamentable condition, as they lye on their hard matts, the poxe breaking and mattering, and runing one into another, their skin cleaving (by reason therof) to the matts they lye on; when they turne them, a whole side will flea of at once, [204] (as it were,) and they will be all of a gore blood, most fearfull to behold; and then being very sore, what with could and other distempers, they dye like rotten sheep. The condition of this people was so lamentable, and they fell downe so generally of this diseas, as they were (in the end) not able to help on another; no, not to make a fire, nor to fetch a litle water to drinke, nor any to burie the dead; but would strivie as long as they could, and when they could procure no other means to make fire, they would burne the woden trayes and dishes they ate their meate in, and their very bowes and arrowes; and some would crawle out on all foure to gett a litle water, and some times dye by the way, and not be able to gett in againe. But those of the English house, (though at first they were afraid of the infection,) yet seeing their woefull and sadd condition, and hearing their pitifull cries and lamentations, they had compastion of them, and dayly fetched them wood and water, and made them fires, gott them victualls whilst they lived, and buried them when they dyed. For very few of them escaped, notwithstanding they did what they could for them, to the haszard of them selves. The cheefe Sachem him selfe now dyed, and allmost all his freinds and kinred. But by the marvelous goodnes and providens of God

Towne takes flight." He recorded a word, "mamaskishaûmitch," meaning the "last pox," that is, this visitation of 1633–34. *Key into the Language of America* (Narragansett Club), 210. Thomas Morton corroborates the desertion of the dying by the living. *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 132.

Winter, reported from Richmond Island, in August, 1634, "Theris a great many of the Indyans dead this yeare, both east and west from vs, and a great many dyes still to the eastward from vs." *Trelawny Papers*, 47.

not one of the English was so much as sicke, or in the least measure tainted with this disease, though they dayly did these offices for them for many weeks togeather. And this mercie which they shewed them was kindly taken, and thankfully acknowledged of all the Indeans that knew or heard of the same; and their m[aste]rs here did much comend and reward them for the same.

Anno Dom: ·1635·[1]

MR. WINSLOW was very wellcome to them in England, and the more in regard of the large returne he brought with him, which came all safe to their hands, and was well sould. And he was borne in hand, (at least he so apprehended,) that all accounts should be cleared before his returne, and all former differences ther aboute well setled. And so he writ over to them hear, that he hoped to cleare the accounts, and bring them over with him; and that the accounte of the White Angele would be taken of, and all things fairly ended. But it came to pass [205] that, being occasioned to answer some complaints made against the countrie at Counsell bord, more cheefly concerning their neigbours in the Bay then them selves hear, the which he did to good effecte, and further prosecuting shuch things as might tend to the good of the whole, as well them selves as others, aboute the wrongs and incrochments that the French and other strangers both had and were like further to doe unto them, if not prevented, he prefered this petition following to their Hon[ou]rs that were deputed Commissioners for the Plantations.[2]

[1] In the General Court held January 1, 1634–35, Bradford, was chosen Governor, "to enter upon it the first Tuesday in March next ensueing, and to serue from the same time one whole yeare." The times for holding courts were also fixed, the first Tuesday in January, March, June, July, September, October, and December. The Assistants elected were Thomas Prence, Edward Winslow, John Alden, Stephen Hopkins, Myles Standish, John Howland and William Collier. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 32.

[2] Winthrop thought this petition for a commission to withstand the intrusions of the French and Dutch was "undertaken by ill advice, for such precedents might endanger our liberty, that we should do nothing hereafter but by commission out of England." *History*, I. *172. The point seems to have been well taken. The patent issued to New Plymouth, January 13, 1629–30, explicitly gave power "to take, apprehend, seize, and make prize of all such Persons, their Shipps and Goods, as shall

To the right honorable the Lords Comissioners for the Plantations in America.

The humble petition of Edw: Winslow, on the behalfe of the plantations in New-England,

Humbly sheweth unto your Lordships, that wheras your petitioners have planted them selves in New England under his Ma[jes]ties most gratious protection; now so it is, right Hon[orab]les, that the French and Dutch doe indeaouer to devide the land betweene them; for which purpose the French have, on the east side, entered and seased upon one of our houses, and carried away the goods, slew · 2 · of the men in another place, and tooke the rest prisoners with their goods. And the Dutch, on the west, have also made entrie upon Conigtecute River, within the limits of his Maj[es]ties letters patent, where they have raised a forte, and threaten to expell your petitioners thence, who are also planted upon the same river, maintaining possession for his Ma[jes]tie to their great charge, and hazard both of lives and goods.

attempt to inhabit or trade with the sauage People of that Cuntry within the seueral Precincts and Limitts of his and their seueral Plantacon, or shall enterprise or attempt att any tyme Destruccon, Invasion, Detrimente, or Annoyance to his and their said Plantacon." Also authority was given to import arms and munition "for their seuerall Defence to encounter, expulse, repell, and resiste by Force of Armes, as well by Sea as by Lande, by all waies and Meanes whatsoever." As the patent had issued from the Council for New England, the extent and quality of the authority given may have been in doubt. In this respect the Massachusetts Bay charter, issued by the King, to whom belonged the sole prerogative of making war and peace, stood upon a firmer basis. Hazard, *State Papers*, I. 253, 302.

In his petition to the Council, in 1635, Winslow sought to awaken interest by directing attention to the economic advantages of securing the territories occupied by the French and the Dutch. Where the French settled, the royal navy could find a supply of masts. In the Dutch parts, an abundance of hemp and flax grew naturally. "All which by our Industry if his Majestie and the State be pleased to continue our liberty of conscience, to keep open the passage of such as will resort to us, and give us so free a commission for displanting French and Dutch as planting the places by us his Majesties loyall Subjects, your Honours shall soone see his Majesties Revenues of Customs by reason of this Plantation enlarged many thousands per annum and this kingdome supplied with many necessaries it wanteth, when as England shall onely part with a part of her overcharged multitudes which she can better misse than beare and for which God hath plentifully provided in the other." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, V. 133.

In tender consideration hereof your petitioners humbly pray that your Lo[rdshi]pps will either procure their peace with those foraine states, or else to give spetiall warrante unto your petitioners and the English Collonies, to right and defend them selves against all foraigne enimies. And your petitioners shall pray, etc.[1]

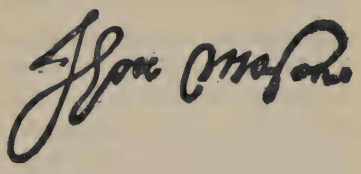
This petition found good acceptation with most of them, and Mr. Winslow was heard sundry times by them, and appointed further to attend for an answer from their Lo[rdshi]pps, espetially, having upon conference with them laid downe a way how this might be doone without any either charge or trouble to the state;

[1] The answer made to this petition by Gorges was embodied in a general paper on the plantation, as follows:

"Howsoever the agent of New Plimouth pretende that the comming of the Dutch into the River of Connectacute, was without theire knowledge and that they did laboure to set downe by them to prevent theire farther intrusion uppon his Majestys Territories, It maie be doubted that they rather had intelligence with them, and that it was a practise betweene them: For two speciall reasons. The one that seeing the Rivers to the Eastwards of them be already planted, by such as favoure not theire waies and opinions; To prevent that none of the like Condic̃ons come to the West, they make it theire Coloure to sit downe by the dutch, That so they might both inlarge theire extent and be free from the danger that might ensue from such a neighbourehood; neither were they hopeles that by such a peece of service, they might obtaine Commission to continue theire possession and so haue more lawfull warrant for what they had done.

"Theire second reason is that findeing his Majestie and their Lordships begin to be sencible of theire disaffections both to his Majesties government and the state Ecclesiasticall, they seeke in tyme to fortefie themselves, by the aid of the duch and to assuer their trade and commerce by theire meanes, if they be prohibited anie from hence as they expect to be, if they submitt not as they ought, within all probability they intended not to doe, till they finde themselves inforced thereunto, by a stronger hand than theire owne." Gorges, "Considerations necessarie . . . in settling the Governor of New England," in Baxter, *Gorges*, III. 267. The notes prepared about 1663 by Sir Joseph Williamson state that Winslow was imprisoned because they of Massachusetts or New Plymouth were suspected of having called the Dutch to the Connecticut. "And upon this and other such incidents, the Government here discovered the insolence and rebellious humor of the Colony of N. Plimouth, or rather the Colony finding what ill opinion the Government here had of them, they called the Dutch in for their countenance and support against the King." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, X. 379.

only by furnishing some of the cheefe of the cuntry hear with authoritie, who would undertake it at their owne charge, and in shuch a way as should be without any publick disturbance.[1] But this crossed both Sir Ferdinandoe Gorges' and Cap: Masons designe, and the arch-bishop of Counterberies by them; for Sir Ferd: Gorges (by the arch-[bish-o]pps favore)[2] was to have been sent over generall Gov[erno]r into the countrie, and to have had means from the state for that end,[3] and was now upon dispatch and conclude of the bussines. And the arch-bishops purposs and intente was, by his means, and some he should send with him, (to be furnished with Episcopall power,) [206] to disturbe the peace of the churches here, and to overthrow their proceedings and further growth, which was the thing he aimed at.[4] But it so fell out (by Gods providence) that



[1] The expense of holding the country against the incroachments of the French and Dutch had thus far fallen upon New Plymouth. In these cases, said Winslow, he came to ask the pleasure of the State, for the Plantation "durst attempt no further designe without your honorable approbation; yet assure myself Right Honorables the enemy durst not have attempted what is past nor threaten as at present and wherof I can informe, if it bee desired, unlesse incouraged by some English." And he closed by saying: "Consider I beseech your Honours that the same persons to whom I concieve your Lordshipps promised large Commission for plantinge the countrey and displantinge French and Dutch, and which intend God permittinge to use their best endeavour thereabout if your Lordshipps thinke meet to refer the ordering thereof to us that offer to beare the charge on those termes, doe all now suffer by me their agent who cannot by reason of mine imprisonment provide a fitt and seasonable supply for the Plantation or be assured any Commission or encouragement but the contrary; when as the adversaries in the meane time have too great advantage against us, who by credible report intend to assault the Plantations this ensuing spring." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, v. 134.

[2] Laud.

[3] In the margin of the manuscript is written against this sentence, "No[te]."

[4] Apart from the complaints made by Thomas Morton, to this point the relations between the New Plymouth settlement and Sir Ferdinando Gorges had not been unfriendly, and had been confined to obtaining grants of territory with his permis-

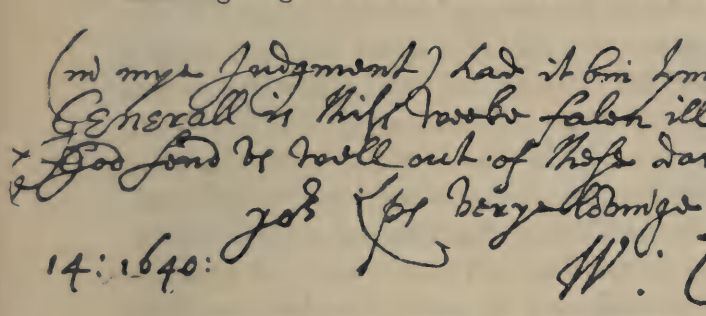
though he in the end crost this petition from taking any further effecte in this kind, yet by this as a cheefe means the plotte and whole bussines of his and Sir Ferdinandos fell to the ground, and

sion or from the Council for New England, where his influence was strong. Against the Massachusetts Bay people Sir Ferdinando and his associates were much incensed, for he believed they had deprived him of a part of his possessions in New England and intended to lessen his profit from any claims he might still hold. He sought to have the charter of the Bay company recalled, the country brought under the immediate control of the King, and himself to be appointed governor general over all New England, with John Mason as vice admiral. To bring this to pass he must prove that the Massachusetts Bay authorities had exceeded the powers conferred upon them by the patent, that they were inclined to be factious and seditious, and that their conduct was opposed to the interests of both Church and State. The attempt to secure an inquiry into the patents, made in 1632, has been described *supra*. New Plymouth, by its treatment of Morton, was as deeply involved as Massachusetts, and would stand or fall with that settlement. Gorges now assumed a different attitude, and based his case against Massachusetts largely upon political and religious grounds. His connections at the court, his relations with the powerful Archbishop of Canterbury, and the color of justice affecting his claims, enabled him to make substantial progress towards securing his ends. The plan involved the surrender of the patent of the Plymouth Company or Council for New England (of which Gorges was really the moving influence), the surrender of the Massachusetts Bay patent, and the issue of a new and broader patent, under which Sir Ferdinando would exercise almost supreme authority, though nominally under that of the King. The fact of the Massachusetts patent being in Boston, and Winthrop's refusal to return it, delayed for the time the completion of the design. The want of money among the associates proved an even more fatal difficulty, as did political troubles in Great Britain. See Adams, in the introduction to Morton, *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), and *Three Episodes*, 300. A more favorable view of Sir Ferdinando Gorges will be found in James Phinney Baxter's volumes on that character, in the same series.

Against the charges of disloyalty brought by Sir Ferdinando, Winslow replied from the Fleet Prison: "The maine objection against us is that we are Brownists, Factious, Puritanes, Schismatickes, etc. If there be any position we hold contrary to the Word of God, contrary to the Royall honor of a King and due allegiance of a Subject, then let his Majestie reject us and take all severe courses against us. But if we be found truly Loyall we humbly entreate to be embraced and encouraged as subjects, and that we may still enjoy the gracious liberty granted by his Royall Father and hetherto enjoyed under his Majesties happy Government, who daily pray for his Majestie — his royall heires and Successors.

"However we follow the discipline rather of other the reformed churches then this yet the accusation is false, that we require of those who joine in Church Communion

came to nothing. When Mr. Winslow should have had his suit granted, (as indeed upon the pointe it was,) and should have been confirmed, the arch-bishop put a stop upon it, and Mr. Winslow, thinking to gett it freed, went to the bord againe; but the bishop,



WRITING OF WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Sir Ferd: and Captine Masson, had, as it seemes, procured Morton (of whom mention is made before, and his base carriage) to complaine; to whose complaints Mr. Winslow made answer, to the good satisfaction of the borde, who checked Morton and rebuked him

with us to censure the Church of England and her Bishops all we require being to render by [a] reason of that faith and hope they have in Christ which together with a good testimony of an honest life wee admitt them, not medling further with the Church of England then as we are bound to pray for the good thereof." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, v. 132.

From his prison Winslow dared question the wisdom of sending to New England a system of government and a governor without sympathy for the Plantations: "Whereas they have formerly accused us unjustly with correspondency with French and Dutch, themselves may justly be suspected who cannot doe the French and Dutch better service then by going about to perswade the State here to deprive us of our Liberty of Conscience, graunted as aforesaid, as also of our freedome of Government, and set such a Governor over us as will impose the same things upon us we went thither to avoid. And if your Lordshipps for want of due information, I speake with all submissive reverence, should send such a governor as between whom and the countrey there is personall distaste and difference, he might be more prejudiciall to the Plantations then the swords of French and Dutch which your Petitioner humbly beseecheth your Lordshipps to consider." This struck at the entire scheme of Gorges.

The ambitious projects of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and the somewhat devious

sharply, and allso blamed Sir Fer'd Gorges, and Masson, for countenancing him. But the bish[op] had a further end and use of his presence, for he now begane to question Mr. Winslow of many things; as of teaching in the church publickly, of which Morton accused him, and gave evidence that he had seen and heard him doe it; to which Mr. Winslow answered, that some time (wanting a minster) he did exercise his gifte to help the edification of his breethren, when they wanted better means, which was not often. Then aboute mariage, the which he also confessed, that, haveing been called to place of magistracie, he had sometimes maried some. And further tould their lord[shi]ps that mariage was a civille thinge, and he found no wher in the word of God that it was tyed to ministrie. Again, they were necessitated so to doe, having for a long time togeather at first no minister; besides, it was no new-thing, for he had been so maried him selfe in Holand, by the magistrates in their Statt-house.[1] But in the end (to be short), for these things, the bishop, by ve[he]mente importunity, gott the bord at last to consente to his comittemente; so he was commited to the Fleete,

policy he and those associated with him, adopted for their accomplishment, will be fully treated in the Winthrop *History;* for it was New England as a whole and more particularly the charter of the Massachusetts plantation that engrossed his chief attention. New Plymouth was concerned, directly as well as indirectly, for that settlement would have fallen under Gorges' rule had he become governor general.

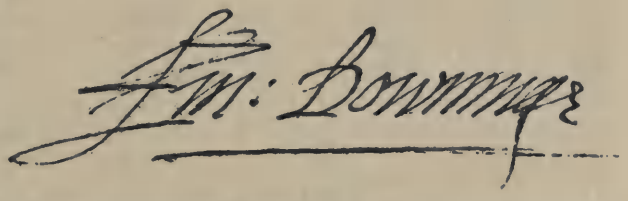
[1] Morton's charge will be found in *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 322. "The Church of the Separatists is governed by Pastors, Elders, and Deacons, and there is not any of these, though hee be but a Cow keeper, but is allowed to exercise his guifts in the publik assembly on the Lords day." To this Winslow replied: "That whereas he confessed that he had both spoken by way of exhortation to the people and married, yet that it was in America and at such a time as necessity constrained them that were there not only to these but to many other thinges far differing from a setled common weale. And if he had beene heere [he] would not have married nor should have needed to preach, as your Lordshipps terme it, but having no Minister in seven or eight yeares at least, some of us must doe both, or else for want of the one, we might have lost the life and face of Christianity: and if the other which is marriage had beene neglected all that time we might become more brutish than the heathen when as in doing it we did but follow the presedent of other conformed churches." Winslow's Petition, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, v. 131.

and lay ther·17· weeks, or ther aboute, before he could gett to be released.[1] And this was the end of this petition, and this bussines; only the others designe was also frustrated hereby, with other things concurring, which was no smalle blessing to the people here.

But the charge fell heavie on them hear, not only in Mr. Winslows expences, (which could not be smale,) but by the hinderance of their bussines both ther and hear, by his personall imployemente. For though this was as much or more for others then for them hear, and by them cheefly he was put on this bussines, (for the plantation knewe nothing of it till they heard of his imprisonmente,) yet the whole charge lay on them.

Now for their owne bussines; whatsoever Mr. Sherleys mind was before, (or Mr. Winslow apprehension of the same,) he now declared him selfe plainly, that he would neither take of the White-

[1] Emanuel Downing wrote to Sir John Coke, then principal Secretary to the King, under date December 19, 1634: "Mr. Wynsloe being my Lord Keepers countryman, whose father alsoe his Lordship loved verie well, doth now much pitty his cause, and expressing soe much last night to his Ladye, shee sent last night to Mr. Wynsloe to give him



notice of hir husbands affection to him and willed him to petic̃on his lordship for the furtherance of his freedom out of prison, the which he hath now done. I thought yt my duty to acquaynt you herewith because I would have nothing agitated herein unknowne to your honour. But that the petic̃on was delivered before I spake with Mr. Winsloe, I had stayed yt, and soe would he himselfe as now resolved wholly to relye upon your honours favour and direc̃on for his owne and publique good of the plantac̃on in all things henceforward." 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, VIII. 386. "Mr. Winsloe lyes still in prison, and is like soe to continew, for I doe not heare when the lords will meete againe for plantation buisines." *Emanuel Downing to John Winthrop*, March 25, 1635. 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 43. The Lord Keeper was Thomas, Lord Coventry, of Earl's Croome, Worcestershire, who had been noticed favorably by Coke. His "ladye" was Elizabeth, daughter of John Aldersey, and widow of William Pitchford.

Angell from the accounte,[1] nor [207] give any further accounte, till he had received more into his hands; only a prety good supply of goods were sent over, but of the most, no note of their prises, or so orderly an invoyce as formerly; which Mr. Winslow said he could not help, because of his restrainte. Only now Mr. Sherley and Mr. Beachamp and Mr. Andrews sent over a letter of atturney under their hands and seals, to recovere what they could of Mr. Allerton for the Angells accounte; but sent them neither the bonds, nor covenants, or shuch other evidence or accounts, as they had aboute these matters.[2] I shall here inserte a few passages out of Mr. Sherleys letters aboute these things.

[1] In 1634 Lechford gives the address of Richard Andrews "at the signe of the Meremayd near the Crosse in Cheapside." *Note Book*, 142. In 1624 his house was in Crooked Lane, and he dwelt "on London bridg (at the Golden horsshow)." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XLIV. 182, 189.

[2] Allerton, in the allotment of land in 1620, received a plot on the south side of the main street, lying between the lots of John Billington and Francis Cooke. His holding of land in 1623 amounted to seven acres, the largest assignment to one person in the distribution of that year. At some time not mentioned in the record, he transferred "one house and garden place scituate on the south side of the heigh streete in Plymouth" to William Bradford, Edward Winslow and Thomas Prence; and they in turn transferred it in 1645 to Edmund Freeman, attorney for John Beauchamp, one of the London adventurers in the Plantation. The house and lot were at the later date valued at ten pounds. Three years later the same Edmund Freeman transferred to Thomas Willett and William Paddy "an house and land at Joaneses River sometimes apertaineing vnto Mr. Isaack Allerton," but no value is given. The transactions formed part of the settlement between the London and New Plymouth partners on the account of the two ships *White Angel* and *Friendship*, and in all probability represented all that could be obtained from Allerton.

This appears to have been all the property possessed by Allerton at New Plymouth. On the death of his sister Sarah, and of her husband Cuthbert Cuthbertson, in 1633, Allerton, who was the largest creditor of the estates, gave notice that the "said Isaack hath given free leaue to all other his creditors to be fully discharged before he receiue any thing of his particular debts to himselfe, desiring rather to lose all rather then other men should lose any." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 20. Although this generous act was performed in December, 1633, it was not sufficient to prevent the probably enforced departure of Allerton from New Plymouth. The inventory under the Cuthbertson will showed a debt of £75. 10*s*. 3*d*. due to Allerton, and one of £9. 1*s*. 4*d*. due to W. Bradford and partners. *Mayflower Descendant*, I. 157.

Your leter of the ·22· of July, 1634, by your trustie and our loving friend Mr. Winslow, I have received, and your large parcell of beaver and otter skines. Blessed be our God, both he and it came safly to us, and we have sould it in tow parcells; the skin at·14s. a li. and some at ·16·; the coate at 20*s*. the pound. The accounts I have not sent you them this year, I will refferr you to Mr. Winslow to tell you the reason of it; yet be assured that none of you shall suffer by the not having of them, if God spare me life. And wheras you say the·6·years are expired that the people put the trad into your and our hands for, for the discharge of that great debte which Mr. Allerton needlesly and unadvisedly ran you and us into; yet it was promised it should continue till our disbursments and ingagements were satisfied.[1] You conceive it is done; we feele and know other wise, etc. I doubt not but we shall lovingly agree, notwithstanding all that hath been writen, on boath sides, aboute the Whit-Angell.[2] We have now sent you a letter

The record shows that on November 24, 1633, "Alice Grinder acknowledgeth herselfe to be the servant of Mr. Isaack Allerton for fiue yeares next ensuing, during which terme the said Isaack to maintaine the said Alice foode and rayment competent for a servant, and at the end thereof the said Isaack to give her two sutes of apparell. This maid servant was left heer by Mr. Joh. Grant, master of the [*James*] for Mr. Allerton, in his absence." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 20. The *James* came to Massachusetts Bay in October, 1633. Winthrop, *History*, I. *115.

In January, 1636–37, five acres of land were granted to James Skiffe "for his service done to Mr. Isaack Olerton," but the nature of the service, or whether the land belonged to Allerton, cannot be determined. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 47.

[1] October 1, 1634, the court agreed to continue the trade "in the hands of the parteners till the next Court, all other persons excluded as formerly." And "for furthering of a course for hereafter" some were chosen to treat with the partners, as follows: Stephen Hopkins, William Collier, William Gilson, Anthony Annable, Jonathan Brewster, John Winslow, Manasseh Kempton and John Dunham, "they hauing concluded to mete together about the midle of Nouember." No decision could have resulted from this meeting, if it took place, as in January, 1634–35, the General Court agreed that the trade "remayne as it hath done formerly till the next court." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 31, 32. See p. 270, *infra*.

[2] The *White Angel* was still in commission. "I do by this Conveyence," wrote Winter to Trelawny, June 11, 1635, "send by the White Angell of Bristow, Mr. Christofer Burket maister, all the bever that I haue receaved. . . . Heare is no other Conveyence to send yt home for London or any partes of England, or Bordeze [Bor-

of atturney, therby giving you power in our names (and to shadow it the more we say for our uses) to obtaine what may be of Mr. Allerton towards the satisf[y]ing of that great charge of the White Angell. And sure he hath bound him selfe, (though at present I cannot find it,) but he hath often affirmed, with great protestations, that neither you nor we should lose a peny by him, and I hope you shall find enough to discharge it, so as we shall have no more contesting aboute it. Yet, notwithstanding his unnaturall and unkind dealing with you, in the midest of justice remember mercie, and doe not all you may doe, etc. Set us out of debte, and then let us recone and reason togeither, etc. Mr. Winslow hath undergone an unkind imprisonment, but I am perswaded it will turne much to all your good. I leave him to relate perticuleres, etc.

Your loving freind,

JAMES SHERLEY.

London, Sep[tember] 7. 1635.

This year they sustained an other great loss from the French. Monsier de Aulnay coming into the harbore of Penobscote, and having before gott some of the cheefe that belonged to the house abord his vessell, by sutl[e]ty [1] coming upon them in their shalop, he gott them to pilote him in; and after getting the rest into his power, he tooke possession of the house in the name of the king of France; [2] and partly by threatening, and other wise, made Mr.

deaux], except I sh[ould] send in a Bastable ship by way of Bilbow." *Trelawny Papers*, 56.

[1] Bradford first wrote "pretending his vessel was leak."

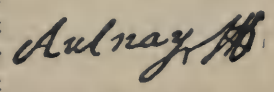
[2] By the treaty of St. Germains, March 29, 1632, the English king returned to the French all the territory of New France which had been taken in 1629. To receive this territory, the French commissioned Isaac de Razillai, of a Touraine family, and interested in the settlement of New France under a company or association of the Hundred Associates. He was appointed governor of Acadia, with Aulnay and Charles de la Tour as his lieutenants. Obtaining an extensive grant of territory for his own use, he fixed the seat of his government at La Hève, and divided his government into two commands. To control the one, extending to the east of St. Croix, he named La Tour, and Aulnay received that to the west, which accounts for his visit to Penobscot. An association for colonizing Port Royal and La Hève was formed in

Willett (their agente ther) to approve of the sale of the goods their unto him, of which he sett the price him selfe [208] in effecte, and made an inventory thereof, (yett leaving out sundry things,) but made no paymente for them; but tould them in convenient time he would doe it if they came for it. For the house and fortification, etc. he would not alow, nor accounte any thing, saing that they which build on another mans ground doe forfite the same. So thus turning them out of all, (with a great deale of complemente, and many fine words,) he let them have their shalop and some victualls to bring them home.[1] Coming home and relating all the passages,

France early in 1635, and counted among its members Cardinal Richelieu and Claude, a brother of Isaac de Razillai, and like him, a daring naval commander. Little followed the formation of the association, for Isaac de Razillai died in November, 1635, and the affairs of the settlement were thrown into confusion by a contest for supremacy between his two lieutenants. An Indian told La Jeune "that Monsieur de Rasilly was considered a very great Captain, not only among the French and English, but also in the estimation of all the Tribes of his Country. He is not mistaken. The integrity of this great man deserves to be honored, even in the midst of Barbarism." *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites), IX. 135. It is characteristic that the French father, Le Jeune, looked upon the change in possession from the religious side only. "From this," he wrote in his *Relation* for 1635, "will result a good which will draw down upon both old and new France a great blessing from Heaven; it is the Conversion of a vast number of Savage Nations, who inhabit these lands and who are every day becoming disposed to receive the light of the Faith." *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites), VIII. 13.

[1] Ten years later, Aulnay had an opportunity to give to Endecott his version of this dispossession of the Plymouth people from Penobscot, and the consequences that followed:

"The like command, also, he [Razillai] had to clear the coast unto Pemaquid and Kenebeck of all persons whatever, and to cause them to withdraw, if there were any habitation seated on this side. It was myself, who received order to execute the total, and met with Thomas Willet placed at Pemptagoiett. I prayed him to be gone, giving him to understand with as much civility as I could, that it was not a place for him to inhabit. He carried away what he could, and of what remained there was an inventory made; which he and I signed unto, and in the upshot I gave him a bill to make him payment upon demand. A month after, he came to the said place, with a ship and pinnace to fire ordnance upon them, who were there, without asking what was due unto him. I believe, if any had cause to



they here were much troubled at it, haveing had this house robbed by the French once before, and lost then above 500 *li.*[1] (as is before

complain, that, before all men, who were not interested herein, I should be received to make my grievances appear, having received a thousand detriments for the kind usage, which he received from me; for having no right to place himself in that place, I did him no wrong to force him to depart, — seeing he possessed another's right. I asked a reason of this action of him [John Haynes], who then held the Government of your Commonwealth, who washed his hands of it, and wrote me, that he knew not of it, and, as for them, that they desired to continue alliance, and to maintain free commerce between the two nations; but matters were not cleared since I made him answer, — that, in good time, I should account it a glory favourably to receive those, who should avow themselves to be under his authority, and told him, that when they would come, they should be welcome to Penobscot, but no further." 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VII. 94.

In August, 1644, Winslow went to Boston and there held "divers and sundry treaties with Monsieur Latour and sundry the gentlemen of Boston" concerning the loss and wrong committed by Aulnay in taking the Plymouth fort at Penobscot. The resulting agreement is not clearly expressed in Winslow's letter printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XVI. 111, but the terms of the "deed," as given in the note on pp. 220–221 of the second volume of Savage's *Winthrop*, are illuminative. Full powers were to be conveyed to John Winthrop, Jr., Sergeant Major Edward Gibbons and Captain Thomas Hawkins, of Boston, to recover "by force of arms or other wise" possession of the fortification, housing, lands, etc. at Matchebiguatus, in Penobscot, and the three were to become owners of the property upon extorting from Latour a certain sum, or upon making up that sum in furs in two years after the taking of the fort.

Winthrop states that the French threatened to return the next year with eight ships, to "displant them all" as far as forty degrees. If any such threat were made, neither the captain of the French vessel, nor his superior officer, Razillai, commander at the fort near Cape Breton, called La Hève, could have been responsible for it. They expressly wrote to Plymouth that they held a commission to displant the English as far as Pemaquid, and "professed all courtesy" to the settlement at Boston. *History*, I. *166. The threat produced some effect at Boston, where the neighborhood of the French was regarded as dangerous, and Edward Trelawny urged his brother to petition to the Lords "for some seasonable Course to bee taken with the *French* here, otherwise there will bee butt small hopes in Continuing our *plantations* so neere them who daylye draw towards vs, whose neighbourhood (I much feare) will proue very preiudiciall vnto vs. I now againe Request you to bee Mindfull of itt; for either wee muste better fortifye, or els expose our selues to the Losse of all, which may bee

[1] See p. 134, *supra*.

remembred), and now to loose house and all, did much move them.[1] So as they resolved to consulte with their freinds in the Bay, and if they approved of it, (ther being now many ships ther,) intended to hire a ship of force, and seeke to beat out the Frenche, and recover it againe. Ther course was well approved on, if them selves could bear the charge; so they hired a fair ship of above ·300· tune, well fitted with ordnance,[2] and agreed with the m[aste]r (one Girling) to this effect: that he and his company should deliver them the house, (after they had driven out, or surprised the French,) and give them peaceable possession therof, and of all shuch trading comodities as should ther be found; and give the French fair quarter and usage, if they would yeeld. In consideration wherof he was to have 700 *li.* of beaver, to be delivered him ther, when he had done the thing; [3] but if he did not accomplish it, he was to loose his

preuented by a speedy preparacõn against all Assaultes." *Trelawny Papers*, 78. Winter, writing in July, 1636, reported: "The French haue made them selues stronge at the place they tooke last yeare heare from the English, and do report they will haue more of the plantations heare about vs, and this [Richmond Island] for on[e]: therfore we shall need to strengthen this plantation, for yt lyes very open as yet for the enymye." *Ib.* 86. Some trading occurred between Winter and Willett, for in the Richmond Island accounts will be found a charge of £10, for "28 yards tradinge Cloath sold to Thomas Willett of new Plymoth." The year of the transaction is not given, but it must have been after May, 1636, and before July, 1639. *Ib.* 196.

[1] "In the storme, one Mr. Willet of New Plimouth, and other 3 men with him, having beene turned out of all their havings at Penobscot about a fourtnight before, and coming along with us in our ship [the *James*] from Richmonds Island, with his boate and goods in it made fast at the sterne of our ship, lost his boate with all that was therein, the violence of the waves breaking the boate in pieces, and sinking the bottom of it into the bottome of the sea." *Richard Mather's Journal*, August 15, 1635.

[2] "In my last I aduised you of the *Frenches* Rooting out of the *English* att *Penobscott;* since which the *Inglish* (being not willing to putt vpp so great a wrong) haue Armed forth hence a shippe of 400 tons, and of good defence, againe to displant them, with [what?] other exploite they haue performd since their departure, wee as yet heare not of." *Edward to Robert Trelawny*, October 10, 1635. *Trelawny Papers*, 75.

[3] From Winthrop is learned the name of the vessel, the *Great Hope*, and from the same source may be had the money equivalent of the beaver, £200. *History*,

labour, and have nothing. With him they also sent their owne bark, and about·20·men, with Captaine Standish, to aide him (if neede weer), and to order things, if the house was regained; and then to pay him the beaver, which they keept abord their owne barke. So they with their bark piloted him thither, and brought him safe into the harbor. But he was so rash and heady as he would take no advice, nor would suffer Captaine Standish to have time to summone them, (who had commission and order so to doe,) neither would doe it him selfe; the which, it was like, if it had been done, and they come to a faire parley, seeing their force, they would have yeelded. Neither would he have patience to bring his ship wher she might doe execution, but begane to shoot at distance like a madd man, and did them no hurte at all; the which when those of the plantation saw, they were much greeved, and went to him and tould him he would doe no good if he did not lay his ship beter to pass (for she might lye within pistoll shott of the house). At last, when he saw his owne folly, he was perswaded, and layed her well, and bestowed a few shott to good purposs. But now, when he was in a way to doe some good, his powder was goone; for though he had [1] . . .[2] peece of ordnance, it did now ap[209]peare he had but a barrell of powder, and a peece; so he could doe no good, but was faine to draw of againe; by which means the enterprise was made frustrate, and the French incouraged; for all the while that he shot so unadvisedly, they lay close under a worke of earth, and let him consume him selfe. He advised with the Captaine how he might be supplyed with powder, for he had not to carie him home; so he tould him he would goe to the next plantation, and doe his inde[v]our to procure him some, and so did; but understanding, by

1. *168. This is at a rate of less than 5*s*. 9*d*. per pound of beaver, a low rate, pointing to the sharp bargain made by Girling. The *Great Hope* came from Ipswich, and had twice been driven ashore in the great storm of August, 1635.

[1] "That is, pretended to have." DEANE.

[2] Blank in the original.

intelligence, that he intended to ceiase on the barke, and surprise the beaver, he sent him the powder, and brought the barke and beaver home. But Girling never assualted the place more, (seeing him selfe disapoyented,) but went his way; and this was the end of this bussines.[1]

Upon the ill success of this bussines, the Gov[erno]r and Assistants here by their leters certified their freinds in the Bay, how by this ship they had been abused and disapoynted, and that the French partly had, and were now likly to fortifie them selves more strongly, and likly to become ill neigbours to the English. Upon this they thus writ to them as followeth: —

Worthy Sirs: Upon the reading of your leters, and consideration of the waightines of the cause therin mentioned, the courte hath joyntly expressed their willingnes to assist you with men and munition, for the accomplishing of your desires upon the French.[2] But because here are none of yours that have authority to conclude of any thing herein, nothing can be done by us for the presente. We desire, therfore, that you would with all conveniente speed send some man of trust, furnished with instructions from your selves, to make shuch agreemente

[1] Winthrop gives another reason for the return of the bark: "But when they came, they found the French had notice, and had so strongly intrenched themselves, (being eighteen,) as, having spent near all their powder and shot, the bark left the ship there, and came here [Boston] to advise with us what further to do; for they had lately lost another bark laden with corn, and could not spare this to send back again." *History*, I. *168.

[2] At the September court the following resolves were passed:

"Agreed, that Plymothe shalbe ayded with men and munic̃on to supplant the French att Penobscott, and it was ordered, that Capt. Sellanova shalbe sent for, to conferre with aboute this busines, and recompenced out of the tresury for his paynes, if hee be not imployed.

"It is agreed, that the said commissioners [for martial discipline] shall have full power to assist our neighbours at Plymothe, for the supplanting of the French att Penobscott, or els where, in any other busines of that nature that may be occac̃oned thereby." *Mass. Col. Rec.*, I. 160, 161. On Captain Sellanova see note in Winthrop, *History* (Savage), I. *168.

with us about this bussines as may be usefull for you, and equall for us. So in hast we commite you to God, and remaine

Your assured loving freinds,

JOHN HAYNES, Gov^r.
RI: BELLINGHAM, Dep.
JO: WINTHROP.
THO: DUDLEY.
JO: HUMFRAY.
WM. CODDINGTON.
WM. PINCHON.
ATHERTON HOUGHE.
INCREAS NOWELL.
RIC: DUMER.
SIMON BRADSTRETE.[1]

New-towne, Octo[be]r 9. 1635.

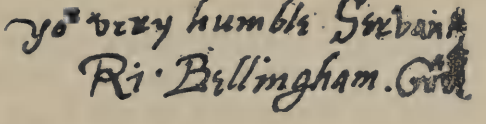
Upon the receite of the above mentioned, they presently deputed ·2· of theirs[2] to treate with them, giving them full power to conclude, according to the instructions they gave them, being to this purposs: that if they would afford shuch assistance as, togeather with their owne, was like to effecte the thing, and allso bear a considerable parte of the charge, they would goe on; if not, [210] they (having lost so much allready) should not be able, but must desiste, and waite further opportunitie as God should give, to help them selves. But this came to nothing, for when it came to the issue, they would be at no charge, but sente them this letter, and referd them more at large to their owne messengers.

SIR: Having, upon the consideration of your letter, with the message you sente, had some serious consultations aboute the great importance of your bussines with the French, we gave our answer to those whom you deputed to conferr with us aboute the viage to Penobscote. We

[1] The signers of this letter comprise all the Assistants chosen in May, 1635, except the younger Winthrop, who was absent. This formality points to the importance given to the act.

[2] Thomas Prence and Captain Myles Standish.

shewed our willingnes to help, but withall we declared our presente condition, and in what state we were, for our abilitie to help; which we for our parts shall be willing to improve, to procure you sufficiente supply of men and munition. But for matter of moneys we have no authority at all to promise, and if we should, we should rather disapoynte you, then incourage you by that help, which we are not able to performe. We likwise thought it fitt to take the help of other Esterne plantations; but those things we leave to your owne wisdoms. And for other things we refer you to your owne committies, who are able to relate all the passages more at large. We salute you, and wish you all good success in the Lord.



Your faithfull and loving friend,

RI: BELLINGHAM, Dep:

In the name of the rest of the Comities.

Boston, Octo[be]r 16. 1635.

This thing did not only thus breake of, but some of their marchants shortly after sent to trade with them, and furnished them both with provissions, and poweder and shott; and so have continued to doe till this day, as they have seen opportunitie for their profite. So as in truth the English them selves have been the cheefest supporters of these French; for besides these, the plantation at Pemaquid [1] (which lyes near unto them) doth not only supply them

[1] In June of the following year, Abraham Shurt, agent of the proprietors of Pemaquid, received a warning that the French intended to take that plantation, and that there were only five Frenchmen left at Penobscot. "Here comes natives from thence and sayes that they will remoue to some other parts, they are soe abused by them. Me seemes they should not leaue such a small crew at home, neyther blason their intents. It is lamentable that a handfull should insult ouer a multitude. We must feare the worst, and strive our best to withstand them. They wrote vnto me of desired freindship and amitye, with mutuall correspondence: and they pretended the same at their being here. A Franciscan Fryar insinuatinge vnto me that Mr. Comander and Mr. Donye [d'Aulnay] desired nothinge but fayre passages betwixt vs, and that

with what they wante, but gives them continuall intelligence of all things that passes among the English, (espetially some of them,) so as it is no marvell though they still grow, and incroach more and more upon the English, and fill the Indeans with gunes and munition, to the great deanger of the English, who lye oppen and unfortified, living upon husbandrie; and the other closed up in their forts, well fortified, and live upon trade, in good securitie. If these things be not looked too, and remeady provided in time, it may easily be conjectured what they may come toe; but I leave them.[1]

This year, the·14·or·15·of August (being Saturday) was shuch a mighty storme of wind and raine, as none living in these parts, either English or Indeans, ever saw. Being like (for the time it continued) to those Hauricanes and Tuffons that writers make mention of in the Indeas. It began in the morning, a litle before day, and grue not by degrees, but came with violence in the beginning, to the great amasmente of many. It blew downe sundry [211] houses, and uncovered others; diverce vessells were lost at sea, and

he was sent purposely to signifie so much vnto me." *Shurt to John Winthrop*, June 28, 1636. 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 571. As a covenant servant, under bond to Giles Elbridge to serve him for five years in New England, Shurt came over in the *White Angel* in November, 1635. Aspinwall, *Notarial Records*, 38. But he had seen service in the plantation before.

[1] Winthrop says that four of the commissioners met those from Plymouth, and came to this conclusion: "That they [of Plymouth] refused to deal further in it, otherwise than as a common cause of the whole country, and so contribute their part. We refused to deal in it, otherwise than as in their aid, and so at their charge; for indeed we had then no money in the treasury, neither could we get provision of victuals, on the sudden, for one hundred men, which were to be employed. So we deferred all to further counsel." *History*, I. *169. This did not determine the matter, and when the colonies confederated, the Plymouth commissioners moved that satisfaction should be required of Aulnay for the injury done to them "at Matthebiquatus in Penobscott." As the Massachusetts Bay was at that time [1644] in correspondence with Aulnay about that and other questions, a decision was postponed; and in September, 1645, the Commissioners "seeing the parties interested do not now complayne," refused to act or to express an opinion upon that particular point, till these parties should call for an opinion. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 25, 58.

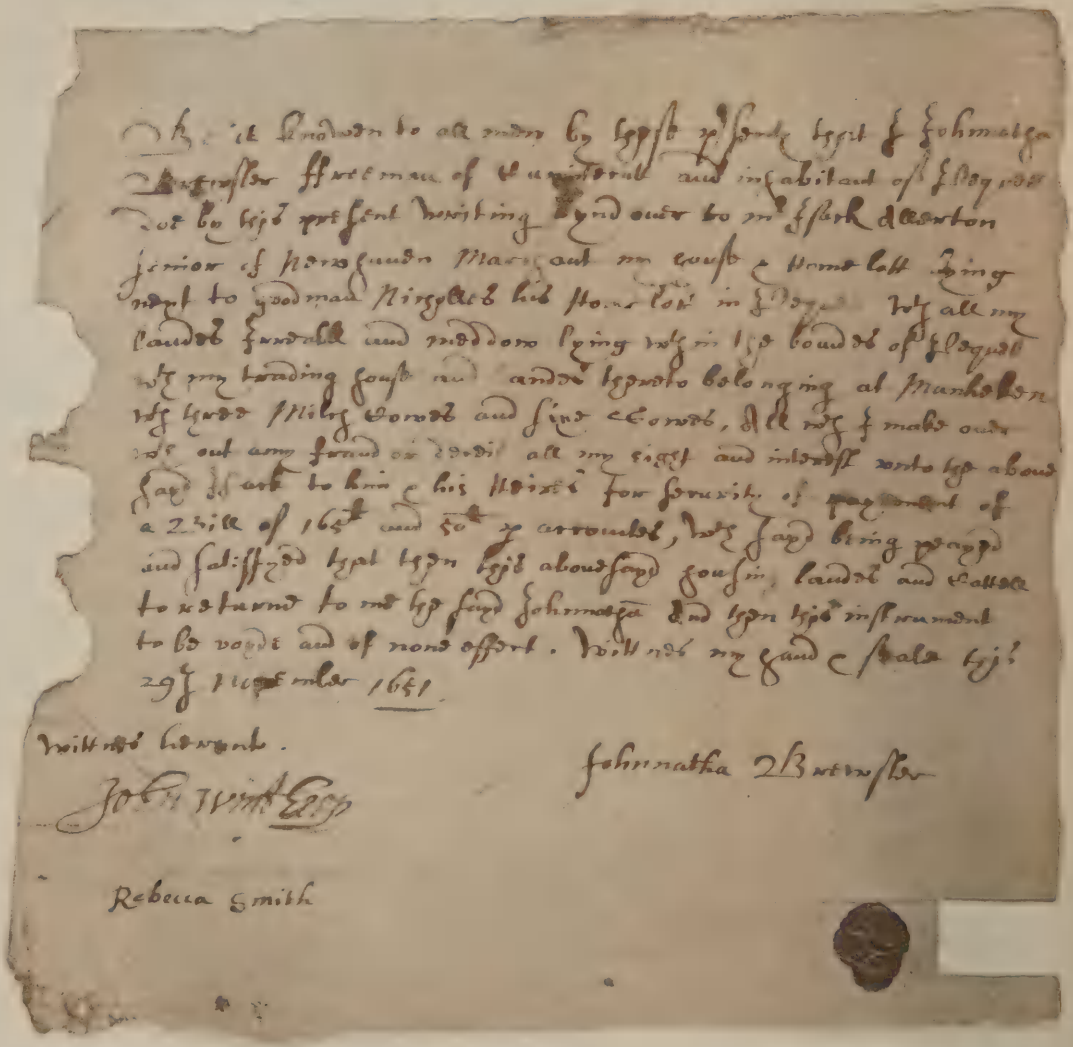
many more in extreme danger. It caused the sea to swell (to the southward of this place) above ·20· foote, right up and downe, and made many of the Indeans to clime into trees for their saftie; it tooke of the borded roofe of a house which belonged to this plantation at Manamet, and floted it to another place, the posts still standing in the ground; and if it had continued long without the shifting of the wind, it is like it would have drouned some parte of the cuntrie. It blew downe many hundered thowsands of trees, turning up the stronger by the roots, and breaking the hiegher pine trees of in the midle, and the tall yonge oaks and walnut trees of good biggnes were wound like a withe, very strange and fearfull to behould. It begane in the southeast, and parted toward the south and east, and vered sundry ways; but the greatest force of it here was from the former quarters. It continued not (in the extremitie) above ·5· or· 6· houers, but the violence begane to abate. The signes and marks of it will remaine this ·100· years in these parts wher it was sorest. The moone suffered a great eclipse the· 2· night after it.[1]

[1] Of this storm and its effects contemporary writers are quite detailed, and furnish very good evidence of its severity. Winthrop relates that the wind had blown hard at S. and S. W. a week before, and about midnight on Friday it veered suddenly to the northeast, and did great damage to the shipping, houses, and fishing stages on the shore. The tidal effects were very notable. "About eight of the clock the wind came about to the N. W. very strong, and, it being then about high water, by nine the tide was fallen about three feet. Then it began to flow again about one hour, and rose about two or three feet, which was conceived to be, that the sea was grown so high abroad with the N. E. wind, that, meeting with the ebb, it forced it back again." Winthrop, *History*, I. *164. At Narragansett the tide rose fourteen feet higher than usual, and drowned eight Indians who were flying from their wigwams. *Ib.* *166. Equally important were the losses of ships. A bark belonging to Allerton, going from Ipswich to Marblehead, with about twenty-three planters and sailors, dashed to pieces on an island, off Cape Ann. To commemorate this disastrous wreck the names of two of the passengers stand on this island, Thatcher's Island and Avery's Fall. The *Angel Gabriel* also proved a total wreck at Pemaquid, "and most of the cattell and other goods with one seaman and 3 or 4 passengers did also perish therein." Trelawny described it as a "late and suddaine, violent, and moste fierce storme," from

Some of their neighbours in the Bay, hereing of the fame of Conightecute River, had a hankering mind after it, (as was before noted,) and now understanding that the Indeans were swepte away with the late great mortalitie, the fear of whom was an obstacle unto them before, which being now taken away, they begane now to prosecute it with great egernes. The greatest differances fell betweene those of Dorchester plantation and them hear; for they set their minde on that place, which they had not only purchased of the Indeans, but wher they had builte; intending only (if they could not remove them) that they should have but a smale moyety left to the house, as to a single family; whose doings and procceedings were conceived to be very injurious, to attempte not only to intrude them selves into the rights and possessions of others, but in effect to thrust them out of all. Many were the leters and passages that went betweene them hear aboute, which would be to long here to relate.[1]

the effects of which no place was free. "Wee also tasted of it, though not in that Measure with others, yet to the losse of one of our Boats, which proued some hindrance vnto vs." *Trelawny Papers*, 75. Accounts of this storm by Anthony Thatcher will be found in Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, 485; by Richard Mather in the publications of the Dorchester Historical Society, and by Winthrop in his *History*, I. *164.

[1] In 1634 some of Newtown proposed to remove to a new location because of a present lack of accommodation where they were, and the want of room in which to grow. The General Court gave them permission to look out a new place of settlement which would be confirmed to them. They inclined to go to the Connecticut, but after much discussion, and the grant of new territory from Boston and Watertown, they were persuaded not to remove. Winthrop, I. *140. In the following year Reverend John Warham, junior, preacher of the Dorchester church, led to the Connecticut a part of his congregation. Whether this was an act of the church, or whether the emigration went as a church organization, is not known. It is certain that political and economic reasons, rather than religious, decided the question of removal. The Dorchester settlement had grown rapidly and needed more land, and the more fertile territory of the Connecticut, together with the advantages of its trade, proved an inducement to remove, even at the risk of incurring the displeasure of the magistrates of the Bay. John Oldham, of the Dorchester settlement, had in 1633 penetrated by land to the Connecticut to trade and had not only received kind treatment and a present of beaver at the hands of the Indians, but had brought back two products of the country of



JONATHAN BREWSTER, 1651.

I shall here first inserte a few lines that was write by their own agente from thence.

Sir, etc.: The Mass[a]chuset men are coming almost dayly, some by water, and some by land, who are not yet determined wher to setle, though some have a great mind to the place we are upon, and which was last bought. Many of them look at that which this river will not afford, excepte it be at this place which we have, namly, to be a great towne, and have comodious dwellings for many togeather. So as what they will doe I cannot yet resolve you; for this place ther is none of them say any thing to me, but what I hear from their servants (by whom I perceive their minds), I shall doe what I can to withstand them. I hope they will hear reason; as that we were here first, and entred with much difficulty and danger, [212] both in regard of the Dutch and Indeans, and bought the land, (to your great charge, allready disbursed,) and have since held here a chargable possession, and kept the Dutch from further incroaching, which would els long before this day have possessed all, and kept out all others, etc. I hope these and shuch like arguments will stoppe them. It was your will we should use their persons and messengers kindly, and so we have done, and doe dayly, to your great charge; for the first company had well nie starved had it not been for this house, for want of victuals; I being forced to supply ·12· men for·9· days togeather; and those which came last, I entertained the best we could, helping both them (and the other) with canows, and guides. They gott me to goe with them to the Dutch, to see if I could procure some of them to have quiet setling nere them; but they did peremtorily withstand them. But this later company did not once speak therof, etc. Also I gave their goods house roome according to their ernest request, and Mr. Pinchons [1] letter in their be-

possible commercial value — hemp and black lead. Winthrop, *History*, I. *111. No indication of the place Oldham visited is recorded, but the Dorchester settlers, towards the end of June, 1635, came to the Plymouth trading-house, where they received hospitality from those stationed in that place. After looking over the territory for some days, they determined to settle at Matianuck (now Windsor), although that was clearly within the holding of the Plymouth people.

[1] William Pynchon was born in Springfield, Essex County, England, and died at

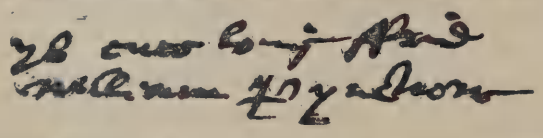
halfe (which I thought good to send you, here inclosed). And what trouble and charge I shall be further at I know not; for they are coming dayly, and I expecte these back againe from below, whither they are gone to veiw the countrie. All which trouble and charge we under goe for their occasion, may give us just cause (in the judgmente of all wise and understanding men) to hold and keep that we are setled upon.[1] Thus with my duty remembred, etc. I rest

Yours to be comanded

JOHNNATHAN BREWSTER.[2]

Matianuck, July·6·1635.

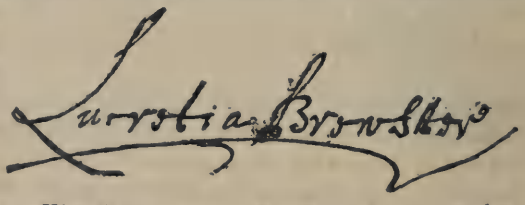
Amongst the many agitations that pased betweene them, I shal note a few out of their last letters, and for the present omitte the rest, except upon other occasion I may have fitter opportunity.



Wraisbury, on the Thames, in October, 1662. He came to New England with Winthrop, and held high office in the plantation of Massachusetts Bay. A resident of Roxbury, he married Frances Sanford, of the Dorchester church, and became interested in the proposed settlement on the Connecticut. Whether political reasons influenced his removal, as they did that of Roger Ludlow, cannot be learned from existing records; but he was fined in March, 1634–35, for "refuseing to pay his parte of the last rate for Rocksbury, without distreyneing, because, as hee alleadged, that towne was not equally rated with others." *Mass. Col. Rec.*, I. 136.

[1] Nearly a line has been carefully obliterated at this place in the letter.

[2] Jonathan Brewster (1593–1659), eldest son of the Elder and wife Mary, was born at Scrooby, and in Holland practised the trade of a ribbon-maker. His first wife died before the migration, and by his second wife, Lucretia, he left descendants. He was one of four who removed to Duxbury in 1632. Placed in charge of the trading house on the Connecticut, he remained there until ousted by the Bay migration, giving good intelligence, June 18, 1636, of the hostile designs of the Pequots. 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VII. 67. Later he removed to Duxbury, and thence to New London (before 1649), holding office in the two governments while a resident.



After their thorrow veiw of the place, they began to pitch them selves upon their land and near their house; which occasioned much expostulation betweene them. Some of which are shuch as follow.[1]

[1] Dorchester was not alone among the older settlements in showing a desire to spread into new territory, and permission to remove was sought of the General Court. In May, 1635, liberty was granted to the inhabitants of Watertown to remove themselves "to any place they shall thinke meete to make choise of, provided they continue still vnder this gouernment." *Mass. Col. Rec.*, I. 146. Like permission was given to the inhabitants of Roxbury and to Dorchester; and when the latter received this privilege, the Court significantly granted three pieces of ordnance to the "plantations that shall remove to Conecticott, to Fortifie themselues withall." *Ib.* 148. This certainly amounted to a claim that Connecticut was "under the government" of the Bay, and the claim received further recognition when, in September, a constable of the plantations at Connecticut was sworn into office, and authority given "to any magistrate to sweare a constable att any plantacõn att Conecticott, when the inhabitants shall desire the same." *Ib.* 159. It would appear that the Court looked for a movement to Connecticut from each of the three towns named, for each place was to contribute as a loan two barrels of powder for the new plantations. In fact some from Newtown and Watertown joined the Dorchester migration, but Dorchester contributed the largest number. These acts of the General Court were passed at the time it was taking into consideration the question of aiding Plymouth in an expedition against the French at Penobscot.

Another occurrence may have strengthened the determination of Massachusetts to control the settlements on the Connecticut. In August or September, the younger Winthrop landed in the Bay, bringing a commission to be "governor of the river Connecticut, with the places adjoining thereunto" for the space of one year, and to build houses and a fortification at the mouth of the river. Trumbull, *History of Connecticut* (1818), I. 497. Winthrop was one of the court assistants of Massachusetts Bay. In November, 1635, the Dutch sent a sloop to take possession of the mouth of the river, but met there a party of English seeking to return to the Bay, who took two pieces of ordnance from the *Rebecca*, and would not suffer the Dutch to land. Winthrop, *History*, I. *175.

The patent issued to Lord Saye and his associates became known to Massachusetts Bay in the fall of 1635, and a joint letter signed by Sir Henry Vane, John Winthrop and Hugh Peter conveyed the information to the Dorchester settlement on the Connecticut. The letter raised the questions: whether the settlers would recognize the rights and claims of the new plantation, as represented by its governor, the younger Winthrop; under what pretence they had taken up their position, and under what government they intended to live, "because the said country is out of the claim of the Massachusetts patent"; and what reply should be given to the patentees, "if the

Brethren, having latly sent·2· of our body unto you, to agitate and bring to an issue some maters in difference betweene us, about some lands at Conightecutt, unto which you lay challeng; upon which God by his providence cast us, and as we conceive in a faire way of providence tendered it to us, as a meete place to receive our body, now upon removall.

We shall not need to answer all the passages of your large letter, etc. But wheras you say God in his providence cast you, etc., we tould you before, and (upon this occasion) must now tell you still, that our mind is other wise, and that you cast rather a partiall, if not a covetous eye, upon that which is your neigbours, and not yours; and in so doing, your way could not be faire unto it. Looke that you abuse not Gods providence in shuch allegations.[1]

said towns intend to intrench upon their rights and privileges." In all this discussion no word occurs to intimate that New Plymouth had any standing in the matter. Winthrop, *History* (Savage), I. 477.

It is more than likely that the profits of the fur trade on the Connecticut received some attention in the Massachusetts Bay, and proved an influence in directing the steps of the emigrants. The trade sufficed to feed the traders of New Plymouth, and of Manhattan Island, and enough remained to tempt the irregular trader, such as Oldham. No exact figures of the quantity and description of furs coming from that river are available for this period; but after 1652 the note book of John Pynchon, who had purchased the fur privilege at Springfield and Nonottuck [Northampton] for £20 a year, shows the possibilities of the trade. See *New England Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, XI. 217. The cessation of remittances from the Connecticut proved a heavy loss to New Plymouth, which may account in part for the feeling shown by Bradford over the seizure of the lands by the Dorchester people. As the leading manager of the trading monopoly he would be quick to see how much was involved in the projects of the Bay settlers.

[1] Naturally New Plymouth protested against this more than trespass on their lands, and Governor Bradford wrote to those of Dorchester, "complaining of it as an injury, in regard of their possession and purchase of the Indians, whose right it was, and the Dutch sent home into Holland for commission to deal with our people at Connecticut." Winthrop, *History*, I. *166. Having alienated the Dutch by their own conduct, the Plymouth Plantation now found themselves contending single handed against an even greater breach of their rights than had been committed upon the Dutch. In February, 1636, Winslow went to Boston to treat with those of Dorchester. Winthrop frankly states that when New Plymouth first broached the question of a

Theirs.

Now allbeite we at first judged the place so free that we might with Gods good leave take and use it, without just offence to any man, it being the Lords [213] wast, and for the presente altogeather voyd of inhabitants, that indeede minded the imploymente therof, to the right ends for which land was created, Gen: 1. 28.[1] and for future intentions of any, and uncertaine possibilities of this or that to be done by any, we judging them (in shuch a case as ours espetialy) not meete to be equalled with presente actions (shuch as ours was) much less worthy to be prefered before them; and therfore did we make some weake beginings in that good worke, in the place afforesaid.

Ans: Their answer was to this effecte. That if it was the Lords wast, it was them selves that found it so, and not they; and have since bought it of the right oweners, and maintained a chargable

joint occupation, it was doubtful whether the place was "within our patent or not," and having permitted Plymouth to purchase lands of the Indians, construct a trading house and contend with the Dutch without any participation of Massachusetts or a freeman of Massachusetts in the undertaking, the Bay would seem to have settled the question of control and government. The Dorchester people entered upon the lands of the Plymouth settlement without leave of New Plymouth, or of the traders at Matianuck, and without the express permission of the authorities of Massachusetts Bay. Winslow's mission at this time promised to come to some agreement, for he brought the following not immoderate proposition as a basis of settlement: the Dorchester people to give to New Plymouth one-sixteenth part of the land held by Plymouth, and £100; "which those of Dorchester not consenting unto, they brake off, those of Plimouth expecting to have due recompense after, by course of justice, if they went on." Winthrop, *History*, 1. *181. Some of the Dorchester settlers entertained doubts on the justice of their position, for Winthrop adds that, "divers resolved to quit the place if they could not agree with those of Plimouth." In the meantime a party of twenty, sent out by Sir Richard Saltonstall, had come from the Bay prepared to erect buildings at this very place. In the clash of claims which resulted, the Saltonstall party, or Patentees, though holding a patent from the Council for New England, and a confirmation of its terms by the King, was obliged to yield possession, and eventually (in 1645) sold their patent and claims to the Connecticut colony.

[1] This text was a favorite one when the occupation of lands was in question. See Winthrop's "Reasons to be considered for iustifieinge the undertakers of the intended Plantation in New England," in *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, 1. 309.

possession upon it al this while, as them selves could not but know. And because they could not presently remove them selves tow it, because of present ingagments and other hinderances which lay at presente upon them, must it therfore be lawfull for them to goe and take it from them? It was well known that they are upon a barren place, wher they were by necessitie cast; and neither they nor theirs could longe continue upon the same; and why should they (because they were more ready, and more able at presente) goe and deprive them of that which they had with charge and hazard provided, and intended to remove to, as soone as they could and were able?

They had another passage in their letter; they had rather have to doe with the lords in England, to whom (as they heard it reported) some of them should say that they had rather give up their right to them, (if they must part with it,) then to the church of Dorchester, etc. And that they should be less fearfull to offend the lords, then they were them.

Ans: Their answer was, that what soever they had heard, (more then was true,) yet the case was not so with them that they had need to give away their rights and adventures, either to the lords, or them; yet, if they might measure their fear of offence by their practise, they had rather (in that poynte) they should deal with the lords, who were beter able to bear it, or help them selves, then they were.[1]

[1] When Edward Winslow became governor in 1636 the dispute was far from settlement, and the feeling of injustice among those of New Plymouth was strong. Writing to the younger Winthrop on June 22, 1636, Winslow gave expression to this feeling: "I perceiued by a letter of Mr. [Jonathan] Brewster of a mocion of yours to him to procure you hay for an 100 beasts. We had a purpose to haue sent some cattle thither, but so discouraged by him, through the injurious dealing of his intruding neighbours, as we feare there will not be long living for man or beast, but if you please to make vse of our right, my brother shall sett your servants to worke in our names and by our order, and affourd them what ever personall helpe shall be thought meet, to the utmost of our power. What we shall yet doe I know not, but will know ere long, and if New England will affourd no Justice, will appeale further; but God forbid we should be put on such extremities: But were it not for Christ's cause in that our profession

But least I should be teadious, I will forbear other things, and come to the conclusion that was made in the endd. To make any forcible resistance was farr from their thoughts, (they had enough of that about Kenebeck,) and to live in continuall contention with their freinds and brethren would be uncomfortable, and too heavie a burthen to bear. Therfore for peace sake (though they conceived they suffered much in this thing) they thought it better to let them have it upon as good termes as they could gett; and so they fell to treaty. The first thing that (because they had made so many and long disputes aboute it) they would have them to grante was, that they had right too it, or ells they would never treat aboute it. They [the] which being acknowledged, and yeelded unto by them, this was the conclusion they came unto in the end after much adoe: that they should retaine their house, and have the·16· parte of all they had bought of the Indeans; and the other should have all the rest of the land; leaveing such a moyety to those [214] of New-towne,[1] as they reserved for them. This·16· part was to be taken in too places; one towards the house, the other towards New-townes proportion. Also they were to pay according to proportion, what had been disbursed to the Indeans for the purchass. Thus was the controversie ended, but the unkindnes not so soone forgotten.[2]

may come to suffer by it, we would not be satisfied with the tenth of our demand, but would hasten another way. These oppressors deserue no favor, their pride would be taken down. Tis pitty religion should be a cloake for such spirits. News I suppose I cannot send more then you heare. I haue now written to your Government, and exspect answere ere long. I thank you for the good office you endeauoured when you were aboue, but sorry to heare how little effect your words tooke with them. God in time I hope will shew them their folly." 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 162.

[1] That is Newtown, on the Connecticut, later known as Hartford. Newtown and Dorchester adjoined, and each occupied a part of the lands claimed by New Plymouth.

[2] On May 15, 1637, Thomas Prence, on behalf of the colony of New Plymouth, entered into an agreement with the inhabitants of Windsor, upon the Connecticut, which practically closed all disputes as to the lands between the two parties. For the sum of £37. 10*s*. he sold to Windsor all the land originally purchased from the sachems

They of New-towne delt more fairly, desireing only what they could conveniently spare, from a competancie reserved for a plantation, for them selves; which made them the more carfull to procure a moyety for them, in this agreement and distribution.

Amongst the other bussinesses that Mr. Winslow had to doe in England, he had order from the church to provide and bring over some able and fitt man for to be their minister. And accordingly he had procured a godly and a worthy [1] man, one Mr. Glover; [2] but it

Sequasson and Nattawanut, reserving the sixteenth part allotted to New Plymouth. The sixteenth part of the meadow land amounted to 43 acres 3 quarters, which was measured off in the presence of Mr. Prence "in Plymouth meadow so called by that account." The sixteenth part of the upland "they took up near the bounds of Hartford, 70 rods in breadth by the River, and so to continue to the ends of the bounds." One acre upon the hill (Stony Hill?) against their meadow came also to them. Stiles, *History of Ancient Windsor*, 35. The management of such an estate, so curiously situated in the matter of government, offered many difficult problems. The Plymouth Plantation, by a power of attorney executed October 20, 1637, authorized Lieutentant William Holmes to sell all the lands, houses, servants, goods and chattels, of the plantation in Windsor, and on May 3, 1638, the property was turned over to a purchaser, Matthew Allyn. Thus was extinguished the right and title of Plymouth on the Connecticut River. *Ib.* 43.

That the Indians of the river looked upon the Plymouth trading house as a protection, and sheltered themselves in its neighborhood, is shown by the complaint made by Aramamet, who succeeded Nattawanut as sachem, "aboute Leiftenant Holmes denying the planting of the old grounde planted the last yeere aboute Plymouth house. It was ordered that they should plante the old ground they planted the last yeer for this yeere onely, and they are to sett theire wigwams in the olde grounde and not withoute." This action taken by the General Court of Connecticut on March 8, 1637–38, is suggestive as showing the extent to which it regulated the use of the land reserved under the agreement of 1637, to New Plymouth. *Conn. Col. Rec.*, I. 16.

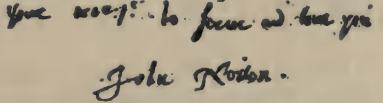
[1] Before this sentence in the margin appears a capital *N*[ote].

[2] This has been identified with Rev. Jose Glover, rector of Sutton, in the County of Surrey, who was suspended from his office in 1634 for refusing to publish to the people of his parish the Book of Sports, as required by the King's orders. He came to New England, it is supposed, in the summer of 1634, received an allotment of land, in the town of Boston, secured forty-nine acres near Rumney Marsh, and bought a windmill in Lynn. Returning to England, he labored for the foundation of a college in New England, purchasing types and press for the new institution, and in 1638 reëmbarked to return to Boston, when he died under the attack of a fever. The facts known about

pleased God when he was prepared for the viage, he fell sick of a feaver and dyed. After wards, when he was ready to come away, he became acquainted with Mr. Norton,[1] who was willing to come over, but would not ingage him selfe to this place, otherwise then he should see occasion when he came hear; and if he liked better else wher, to repay the charge laid out for him, (which came to aboute 70*li.*) and to be at his liberty. He stayed aboute a year with them, after he came over, and was well liked of them, and much desired by them; but he was invited to Ipswich, wher were many rich and able men, and sundry of his aquaintance; so he wente to them, and is their minister. Aboute half of the charg was repayed, the rest he had for the pains he tooke amongst them.

him are ingeniously used by George E. Littlefield, in *The Early Massachusetts Press*, I. 19. To establish his position it is necessary to concede that Bradford made a serious error in dates and even in statements; that the interview between Winslow and Glover took place in Boston, in 1634, and not in England; and that Glover never engaged himself to come to Plymouth. A family connection with Roger Williams is supposed to have been the cause of the attempt of Plymouth to secure his services. Bradford's statements are too general to offer evidence for or against this account of Glover. It is certain that Glover was free to come to New England, in 1634–35, but all knowledge of a negotiation with Plymouth rests upon Bradford's statement.

[1] Cotton Mather in the way characteristic of him says much in his *Magnalia* (Book III, chap. ii,) of John Norton, without giving the essential facts as to his coming to New England. Winthrop leaves a wrong impression when he states that the ship in which Norton came "put into Plymouth by contrary winds, where he continued preaching to them all the winter," as though Norton had not intended to go to that place. He had proposed to come to New England in 1634, in the same ship with Thomas Shepard, but the vessel was driven back, and, while waiting for another opportunity, met and engaged himself to Winslow. The two took passage in the *Hopewell*, Captain Babb, and, after experiencing another great storm, they arrived at Plymouth in October, 1635. Morton says he "stayed until the March following, and then went into the Bay and returned no more, but entertained an invitation to Ipswich, and after the death of Mr. Cotton he came to Boston, and was teacher of the Old Church until his death [1663]." Though Norton disliked the ceremonies of the English church, he had not separated from it, and the conditions at Plymouth did not satisfy him.



Anno Dom: ·1636·

MR. ED: WINSLOW was chosen Gov[erno]r this year. In the former year, because they perceived by Mr. Winslows later leters that no accounts would be sente, they resolved to keep the beaver, and send no more, till they had them, or came to some further agreemente. At least they would forbear till Mr. Winslow came over, that by more full conferance with him they might better understand what was meete to be done. But when he came, though he brought no accounts, yet he perswaded them to send the beaver, and was confident upon the receite of that beaver, and his letters, they should have accounts the nexte year; and though they thought his grounds but weake, that gave him this hope, and made him so confidente, yet by his importunitie they yeelded, and sente the same, ther being a ship at the latter end of year, by whom they sente 1150 *li.* waight of beaver, and ·200· otter skins, besides sundrie small furrs, as ·55· minks, ·2· black foxe skins, etc. And this year, in the spring, came in a Dutch man, who thought to have traded at the Dutch [215] forte; but they would not suffer him.[1] He, having good store of trading goods, came to this

[1] The Dutch West Indies Company sought to exercise a monopoly of the fur trade at New Netherland. Ships other than their own were excluded from the North River, and were held as interlopers. Even the patroons, on whom the future of the settlement depended, were obliged to pay tribute for every skin sent away, and sought to break the monopoly by claiming exemption from duty on the inland fur trade, and on trade conducted where no agent of the company was stationed. The force of the monopoly never succeeded in enabling the Company to obtain the profits that should have been its due, the mismanagement and dishonesty of its servants reducing its gains. "Private individuals purchased, or appropriated to themselves, the most valuable furs, leaving the refuse only to be shipped on account of the directors, by which means the character of the furs, offered by the latter for sale in Holland, was seriously injured, and the company's receipts diminished, for they were undersold by

place, and tendred them to sell; of whom they bought a good quantitie, they being very good and fitte for their turne, as Dutch roll, ketles, etc., which goods amounted to the valew of 500*li.*, for the paymente of which they passed bills to Mr. Sherley in England, having before sente the forementioned parcell of beaver. And now this year (by another ship) sente an other good round parcell that might come to his hands, and be sould before any of these bills should be due. The quantity of beaver now sent was 1809*li.* waight, and of otters · 10 · skins, and shortly after (the same year) was sent by another ship (Mr. Langrume maister), in beaver 0719*li.* waight, and of otter skins · 199 · concerning which Mr. Sherley thus writes.

Your leters I have received, with · 8 · hoggsheads of beaver by Ed: Wilkinson, m[aste]r of the Falcon. Blessed be God for the safe coming of it. I have also seen and acceped · 3 · bills of exchainge, etc. But I must now acquainte you how the Lords heavie hand is upon this kingdom in many places, but cheefly in this cittie, with his judgmente of the plague. The last weeks bill was · 1200 · and odd, I fear this will be more; and it is much feared it will be a winter sicknes. By reason wherof it is incredible the number of people that are gone into the cuntry and left the citie. I am perswaded many more then wente out the last great sicknes; so as here is no trading, carriors from most places put downe; nor no receiving of any money, though long due.[1]

the Russian traders, who furnished a better article at a lower price. The competition did not stop here. Those in New Netherland, who were concerned in these clandestine proceedings, shipped return cargoes, and thus the trade with the interior became entirely deranged." O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, 183.

[1] The pestilence had visited London in 1625 and 1630. Evelyn (*Diary*, I. 9) notes the extreme dryness of the year 1636, which caused the disease to increase much in London, and divers parts of England. Ryece was more specific in writing to Winthrop: "The Springe was very hotte and drye, burninge vp the grasse, the harveste very wette and dropping, and so the weather followinge very variable, which bredde a sore plague bothe at London and in sondrye other places, by reason whereof mydsommer tearme was in parte cutte of, and so was Michelmas tearme for the moste parte cutte of." *Robert Ryece to John Winthrop*, March 1, 1636–37, 4 *Mass. Hist. Col-*

Mr. Hall[1] ows us more then would pay these bills, but he, his wife, and all, are in the cuntrie, ·60· miles from London. I write to him, he came up, but could not pay us. I am perswaded if I should offer to sell the beaver at 8*s*. per pound, it would not yeeld money; but when the Lord shall please to cease his hand, I hope we shall have better and quicker markets; so it shall lye by. Before I accepted the bills, I acquainted Mr. Beachamp and Mr. Andrews with them, and how ther could be no money made nor received; and that it would be a great discredite to you, which never yet had any turned back, and a shame to us, haveing 1800 *li*. of beaver lying by us, and more oweing then the bills come too, etc. But all was nothing; neither of them both will put too their finger to help. I offered to supply my ·3· parte, but they gave me their answer they neither would nor could, etc. How ever, your bils shall be satisfied to the parties good contente; but I would not have thought they would have left either you or me at this time, etc. You will and may expect I should write more, and answer your leters, but I am not a day in the weeke at home at towne, but carry my books and all to Clapham; for here is the miserablest time that I thinke hath been known in many ages. I have known ·3· great sickneses, but none like this. And that which should be a means to pacifie the Lord, and help us, that is taken away, preaching put downe in many places, not a sermone in Westminster on the saboth, nor in many townes aboute us; the Lord in mercie looke uppon us. In the begining of the year was a great [216] drought, and no raine for many weeks togeather, so as all was burnte up, haye, at 5*li*. a load; and now all raine, so as much sommer corne and later haye is spoyled. Thus the Lord sends judg-

lections, VI. 410. The epidemic had raged in France and the Low Countries in the fall of 1635, no goods or persons being admitted into England from those parts without warrant. *Proclamation*, November 1, 1635. In April, 1636, repairing to the King for the cure of the King's evil was prohibited until Michaelmas, because of the danger of infection, and stringent measures were ordered for preventing the spread of the disease. Local fairs and courts were postponed or forbidden, and in October a weekly fast was enjoined throughout the realm "for the removal of God's judgements." *Proclamations*, April 22, May 27, July 18, 26, August 20, September 6, October 2, 7, 18.

[1] This name is written at the end of a line and much crowded in the writing; this reading may not be correct.

mente after judgmente, and yet we cannot see, nor humble our selves; and therfore may justly fear heavier judgments, unless we speedyly repente, and returne unto him, which the Lord give us grace to doe, if it be his blessed will. Thus desiring you to remember us in your prayers, I ever rest Your loving friend,

JAMES SHERLEY.

Sep[tember] 14. 1636.

This was all the answer they had from Mr. Sherley, by which Mr. Winslow saw his hopes failed him. So they now resoloved to send no more beaver in that way which they had done, till they came to some issue or other aboute these things. But now came over letters from Mr. Andrews and Mr. Beachamp full of complaints, that they marveled that nothing was sent over, by which any of their moneys should be payed in; for it did appear by the accounte sente in Anno 1631. that they were each of them out, aboute a leven hundered pounds a peece, and all this while had not received one penie towards the same. But now Mr. Sherley sought to draw more money from them, and was offended because they deneyed him; and blamed them hear very much that all was sent to Mr. Sherley, and nothing to them. They marvelled much at this, for they conceived that much of their moneis had been paid in, and that yearly each of them had received a proportionable quantity out of the large returnes sent home. For they had sente home since that accounte was received in Anno 1631. (in which all and more then all their debts, with that years supply, was charged upon them) these sumes following.

Nov[br]	18.	An° 1631.	By M[r]. Peirce	0400*li.* waight of beaver, and otters	20.
July	13.	An° 1632.	By M[r]. Griffin	1348*li.* beaver, and otters . .	147.
		An° 1633.	By M[r]. Graves	3366*li.* bever, and otters . .	346.
		An° 1634.	By M[r]. Andrews	3738*li.* beaver, and otters . .	234.
		An° 1635.	By M[r]. Babb	1150*li.* beaver, and otters . .	200.
June	24.	An° 1636.	By M[r]. Willkinson	1809*li.* beaver, and otters . .	010.
		Ibidem.	By M[r]. Langrume	0719*li.* beaver, and otters . .	199.
				12150*li.**	1156

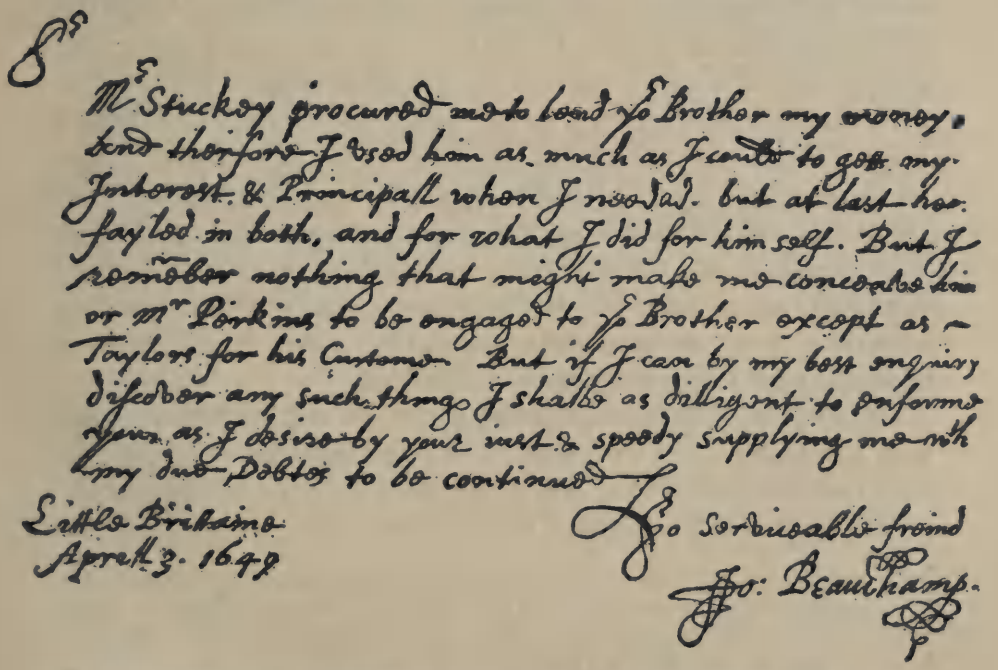
* "Not correctly cast; it should be 12530*li.*" DEANE.

All these sumes were safly received and well sould, as appears by leters. The coat beaver usualy at·20*s*. per pound, and some at ·24*s*.; the skin at·15· and sometimes·16· I doe not remember any under·14· It may be the last year might be something lower, so also ther were some small furrs that are not recconed in this accounte, and some black beaver at hig[h]er rates, to make up the defects. [217] It was conceived that the former parcells of beaver came to litle less then 10000*li*. sterling, and the otter skins would pay all the charge, and they with other furrs make up besides if any thing wanted of the former sume. When the former accounte was passed, all their debts (those of White-Angelle and Frendship included) came but to 4770*li*.[1] And they could not estimate that all the supplies since sent them, and bills payed for them, could come to above 2000*li*. so as they conceived their debts had been payed, with advantage or intrest. But it may be objected, how comes it that they could not as well exactly sett downe their receits, as their returnes, but thus estimate it. I answer,·2·things were the cause of it; the first and principall was, that the new accountante, which they in England would needs presse upon them, did wholy faile them, and could never give them any accounte; but trusting to his memorie, and lose papers, let things rune into shuch confusion, that neither he, nor any with him, could bring things to rights. But being often called upon to perfecte his accounts, he desired to have shuch a time, and shuch a time of leasure, and he would doe it. In the intrime he fell into a great sicknes, and in conclusion it fell out he could make no accounte at all. His books were after a litle good begining left altogeather unperfect; and his papers, some were lost, and others so confused, as he knew not what to make of them him selfe, when they came to be searched and examined. This was not unknowne to Mr. Sherley; and they came to smarte for it to purposs, (though it was not their faulte,) both thus in England, and also here; for they conceived they lost some hundreds of pounds for

[1] See p. 131, *supra*.

goods trusted out in the place, which were lost for want of clear accounts to call them in. Another reason of this mischeefe was, that after Mr. *Winslow* was sente into England to demand accounts, and to excepte against the *Whit-Angell*, they never had any price sent with their goods, nor any certaine invoyce of them; but all things stood in confusion, and they were faine to guesse at the prises of them.

They write back to Mr. Andrews and Mr. Beachamp, and tould them they marveled they should write they had sent nothing home


Sr

Mr Stuckey procured me to lend yo Brother my money, and therfore I vsed him as much as I could to gett my Interest & Principall whon I needed. but at last hee fayled in both, and for what I did for him self. But I remember nothing that might make me concerne him or Mr Perkins to be ongaged to yo Brother except as Taylors for his Customer But if I can by my best enquiry discover any such thing I shalbe as dilligent to performe yours as I desire by your iust & speedy supplying me with my due Debts to be continued

Yo Serviceable freind
Jo: Beauchamp.

Little Britaine
Aprill 3. 1649

since the last accounts; for they had sente a great deale; and it might rather be marvelled how they could be able to send so much, besides defraying all charge at home, and what they had lost by the French, and so much cast away at sea, when Mr. Peirce lost his ship on the coast of Virginia.[1] What they had sente was to them all, and

[1] See p. 155, *supra*.

to them selves as well as Mr. Sherley, and if they did not looke after it, it was their owne falts; they must referr them to Mr. Sherley, who had received [218] it, to demand it of him. They allso write to Mr. Sherley to the same purpos, and what the others complaintes were.

This year · 2 · shallops going to Coonigtecutt with goods from the Massachusetts of shuch as removed theither to plante, were in an easterly storme cast away in coming into this harbore in the night; the boats men were lost, and the goods were driven all alonge the shore, and strowed up and downe at highwater marke. But the Gov[erno]r caused them to be gathered up, and drawn togeather, and appointed some to take an inventory of them, and others to wash and drie shuch things as had neede therof; by which means most of the goods were saved, and restored to the owners.[1] Afterwards anotheir boate of theirs (going thither likwise) was cast away near unto Manoanscusett,[2] and shuch goods as came a shore were preserved for them. Shuch crosses they mette with in their beginings; which some imputed as a correction from God for their intrution (to the wrong of others) into that place. But I dare not be bould with Gods judgments in this kind.

In the year 1634, the Pequents (a stoute and warlike people,) who had made warrs with sundry of their neigbours, and puft up with many victories, grue now at varience with the Narigansets, a great people bordering upon them. These Narigansets held cor-

[1] The boats were "cast away upon Brown's Island, near the Gurnett's Nose," says Winthrop, who placed the incident under October 6, 1635. *History*, I. *169. Dr. James Freeman, writing in 1802, states that "There is at present but one island in the harbour of Plymouth. But there is a shoal called Brown's island, lying about a half of a mile east by north from Beach point. This, it is supposed, was once upland. There is a tradition, that stumps of trees have been seen here." 1 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VIII. 220 *n*. On the map of the U. S. Coast Survey this shoal is called Brown's Bank. Davis supposes it to have received its name from Peter Brown, one of the passengers in the *Mayflower*, and one of those lost in the woods in January, 1621. Davis, *Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth*, 150; Mourt's *Relation*, *27.

[2] See p. 13, *supra*.

respondance and termes of freindship with the English of the Massachusetts. Now the Pequents, being conscious of the guilte of Captain-Stones death, whom they knew to be an-English man, as also those that were with him, and being fallen out with the Dutch, least they should have over many enemies at once, sought to make friendship with the English of the Massachusetts; and for that end sent both messengers and gifts unto them, as appears by some letters sent from the Gov[erno]r hither.

DEAR AND WORTHY SIR: ETC. To let you know somwhat of our affairs, you may understand that the Pequents have sent some of theirs to us,[1] to desire our freindship, and offered much wampam and beaver, etc. The first messengers were dismissed without answer;[2] with the next we had diverce dayes conferance, and taking the advice of some of our ministers, and seeking the Lord in it, we concluded a peace and freindship with them, upon these conditions: that they should deliver up to us those men who were guilty of Stones death, etc.[3] And if we desired to plant in Conightecute, they should give up their right to us, and so we would send to trade with them as our freinds (which was the cheefe thing we aimed at, being now in warr with the Dutch and the rest of their neigbours). To this they readily agreed; and that we should meadiate a peace betweene them and the Narigansetts; for which end they were contente we should give the Narigansets parte of that presente, they would bestow on us (for they stood [219][4] so much on their honour, as they would not be seen to give any thing of them selves). As for Captein Stone, they tould us ther were but·2· left of those who had any hand in his death; and that they killed him in a just quarell, for (say they) he surprised·2· of our men, and bound them, to make them by force to shew him the way

[1] In October, 1634.

[2] These messengers were turned away because they were not of sufficient rank or importance. They were told to "send persons of a greater quality, and then our governor would treat with them."

[3] The murder had been committed in January, 1633–34.

[4] 119 in MS.

up the river;[1] and he with ·2· other coming on shore, ·9· Indeans watched him, and when they were a sleepe in the night, they kiled them, to deliver their owne men; and some of them going afterwards to the pinass, it was suddainly blowne up. We are now preparing to send a pinass unto them, etc.[2]

In an other of his, dated the 12. of the first month, he hath this:

Our pinass is latly returned from the Pequents; they put of but litle comoditie, and found them a very false people, so as they mean to have no more to doe with them. I have diverce other things to write unto you, etc.

Yours ever assured,
Jo: WINTHROP.

Boston, 12. of the 1. month, 1634[–35].

After these things, and, as I take, this year, John Oldom, (of whom much is spoken before,) being now an inhabitant of the Massachusetts, went with a small vessell, and slenderly mand, a trading into these south parts, and upon a quarell betweene him and the Indeans was cutt of by them (as hath been before noted),[3]

[1] Ther is litle trust to be given to their relations in these things. — BRADFORD.

[2] The same facts are related in Winthrop, 1. *148, under date November 6, 1634; but this letter to Bradford was probably written in February, 1635, as the pinnace returned some time before March 12. Winthrop makes no mention in his *History* of this sending of the pinnace, and the discouraging discovery of their falsity made, which to all intents ended all intercourse between the Bay and the Pequots.

[3] See vol. 1. p. 412. The circumstances of Oldham's death are told by Winthrop, *History*, 1. *189. He had proved himself as disturbing an element in Massachusetts Bay as in New Plymouth, and his adventurous trade on his individual account had carried him far into the wilderness and caused him to incur much danger. That he had been unscrupulous in his dealings with the Indians is probable, and his practices seem to have invited revenge on their part. When his proceedings, both at New Plymouth and in Massachusetts Bay, are considered, there is a certain incongruity in the fact that his death should become the principal cause of the Pequot war.

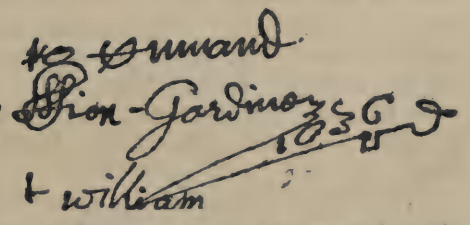
Bradford speaks of him as an inhabitant of Massachusetts, but his interests lay rather in the new settlements on the Connecticut. Here an inventory of his estate was prepared showing debts amounting to £504. 9*s*. 3*d*. and credits of only £136. 6*s*. 9*d*.

at an iland called by the Indeans Munisses but since by the English Block Iland.[1] This, with the former about the death of Stone, and the baffoylling of the Pequents with the English of the Massachusetts, moved them to set out some to take revenge, and require satisfaction for these wrongs; but it was done so superfitially, and without their acquainting of those of Conightecute and other neighbours with the same, as they did little good.[2] But their

The heaviest creditors were Edward Hopkins and Matthew Craddock, to whom nearly one half of the total indebtedness (£229.) was owing. It is reasonable to assume that Craddock and Hopkins, the latter of whom was engaged in the Levant trade, had been induced to entrust some money with Oldham on his boasting that three for one could be gained in three years, if "hee might haue the managinge of our stock." *Mass. Col. Rec.*, I. 388.

[1] Named from Adriaen Block, who visited this island in 1614. Verazzano, in 1524, had seen an "Ilande in the forme of a triangle, distant from the maine lande 3 leagues about the bignesse of the Ilande of the Rodes, it was full of hilles, couered with trees, well peopled, for we sawe fires all along the coaste." To this island he gave the name "Claudia," after the mother of Francis I of France. It is figured on Lok's map (1582), printed in Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America* (Hakluyt Society), 55, 64. Some, however, believe this island to have been Martha's Vineyard. The Indian name, Manisses, has been interpreted to mean "Little God" or "Little God's island." Livermore, *History of Block Island*, 10. It became a part of Rhode Island in 1664.

[2] In July a commission was issued to John Winthrop, Jr., to treat with the Pequots for the surrender of Stone's murderers, and satisfaction for their other unworthy behavior. He was instructed to break off negotiations for peace in case they refused to meet the demands made upon them. 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, III. 129. One of the grievances then alleged against the Pequots was "their late determination to have seized upon a Plimouth Barke lying in their harbour for trade," but the details are not given. So Gardiner, who wrote his account in 1660, mentions a trading venture invited by a Pequot, "whose name was Cocommithus, who had lived at Plimoth, and could speak good English." This venture is supposed to have occurred just before Endecott and his men "suddenly" reached Saybrook. *Ib.* 139, 140. Winthrop gives a full account of this expedition, which left the Bay August 24, and returned September 14, without the loss of a man. *History*, I. *194.



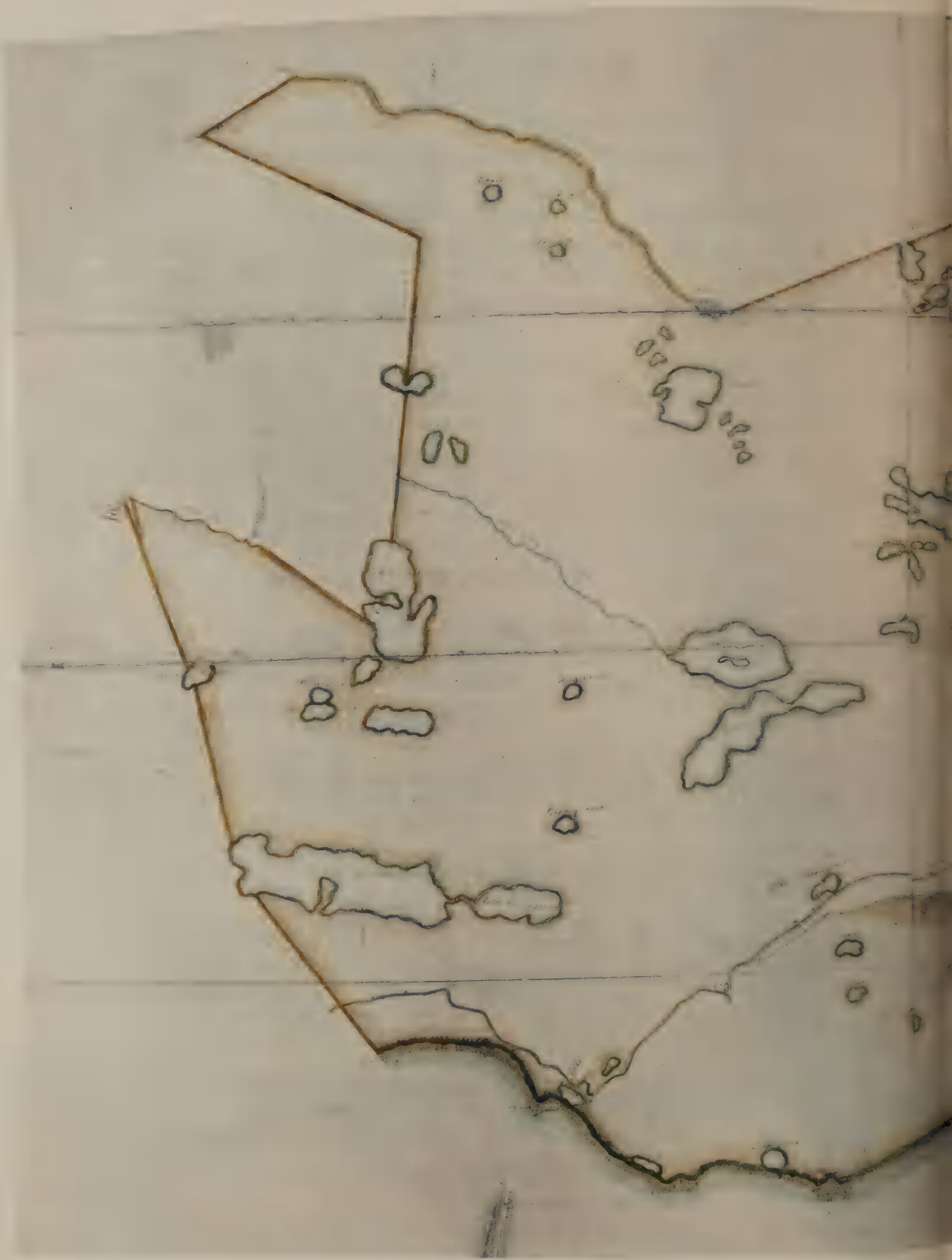
neigbours had more hurt done, for some of the murderers of Oldome fled to the Pequents, and though the English went to the Pequents, and had some parley with them, yet they did but delude them, and the English returned without doing any thing to purpose, being frustrate of their oppertunitie by the others deceite. After the English were returned, the Pequents tooke their time and oppertunitie to cut of some of the English as they passed in boats, and went on fouling, and assaulted them the next spring at ther habytations, as will appear in it[s] place. I doe but touch these things, because I make no question they will be more fully and distinctly handled by them selves, who had more exacte knowledg of them, and whom they did more properly concerne.[1]

This year Mr. Smith layed downe his place of ministrie, partly by his owne willingnes, as thinking it too heavie a burthen, and partly at the desire, and by the perswasion, of others;[2] and the

[1] This discontent with the conduct of Massachusetts Bay was the cause of a letter from Governor Edward Winslow, to Deputy Governor John Winthrop, "that we had occasioned a war, etc., by provoking the Pequods, and no more, and about the peace with the Naragansetts, etc." Winthrop admits that he "took it ill (as there was reason)," and he summarizes the answer given. The peace with the Narragansetts had been signed October 21, 1636. While New Plymouth had not been invited to take part in it, the terms covered that plantation, "if they consent." *History*, I. *199. Connecticut was no better satisfied with what the Endecott expedition had done, and offered to aid in a further prosecution of the war. As a result a special session of the General Court was held on April 18, 1637, at which a force was voted, and the Council was authorized to "treate with our neighbours of Plimoth about such ayde as they will send with vs, and also with our frends vpon Conecktecot, and shall have power to proceede with them in the said treaty as occation shall require." *Mass. Col. Rec.*, I. 192. Some years later Winthrop recalled these complaints of "our frends" of Plymouth and Connecticut, neither, however, protesting against the expedition. *Hutchinson Papers* (Prince Society), *130.

No less than four contemporary accounts of the so-called Pequot War were prepared by participants, John Mason, John Underhill, Philip Vincent and Lyon Gardiner.

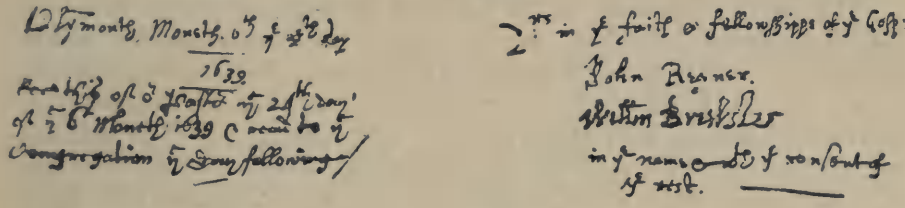
[2] "Mr. Raph Smyth complaines against Raph Gorame, in an action of slaunder and defamacon, to the dam of x *li.* The jury fynd for the plaintiffe, and assesse damages xl*s*., and charges of the Court." March 2, 1640–41. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, VII. 19.



1240



church sought out for [220][1] some other, having often been disappointed in their hopes and desires heretofore. And it pleased the Lord to send them an able and a godly man,[2] and of a meeke and



humble spirite, sound in the truth, and every way unreproveable in his life and conversation; whom, after some time of triall, they chose for their teacher, the fruits of whose labours they injoyed many years with much comforte, in peace, and good agreemente.

NOTE

In 1685 a compilation of the laws of New Plymouth was printed, with the following title:

The Book of the General | Laws | Of the Inhabitants of the | Jurisdiction of | New-Plimouth, | Collected out of the Records of the | General Court, | And lately Revised: . . . Boston In New-England: | Printed by Samuel Green. 1685.

The first chapter is composed of "The General Fundamentals. Anno. 1636. and Revised 1671." At a General Court held October 4 and 5, 1636, it was agreed: "The ordnances of the colony and corporation being read, divers were fownd worthy the reforming, others the rejecting, and others fitt to be instituted and made. It was therefore ordered and agreed, that four for the

[1] 120 in MS.

[2] Mr. John Reinor. — BRADFORD. John Reyner was born at Gildersome, in the parish of Batley, in the west riding of York, and took his degree of A.B. in 1625, at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He came to New England about 1635, settled at New Plymouth, where he remained until November, 1654. That winter he passed in Boston, and in 1655 accepted a call from the church in Dover, dying in office, April 20, 1669. He was twice married; first to — Boys, who inherited property at Gildersome, and second (before 1642), to Frances Clarke, of Boston. John Reyner and Ralph Partridge were both admitted freemen of New Plymouth, March 6, 1637–38.

towne of Plymouth, two for Scituate, and two for Duxburrow should, as committees for the whole, be added to the Governor and Assistants, to rectefie and prepare such as should be thought most convenient, that, if approved, they may be put in force the next Generall Court.

"The parties menconed for the towne of Plymouth, Mr. Will. Brewster, Mr. Raph Smith, John Done, and Joh. Jenny; for Duxburrow, Mr. Jonath. Brewster and Christopher Wadsworth; for Scituate, Anthony Annable and James Cudworth; all which to repaire to the Governor and Assistants at Plymouth aforesaid the 15th of November next ensuing, and there continue their app[e]arance till such time as the premises be determined." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 43. No mention of the submission and acceptance of a report or code is to be found. In Massachusetts the first steps towards framing a code were taken in 1635, but the matter was not completed until 1641. Of this compilation of 1636 these Fundamentals formed a part, but how far they had been altered and modified before 1671 cannot be determined.

"1. *Wee the Associates of the Colony of* New-Plimouth, *coming hither as free born Subjects of the Kingdome of* England, *Endowed with all and singular the Priviledges belonging to such: Being Assembled,*

"Do Enact, Ordain and Constitute; that no Act, Imposition, Law or Ordinance be Made or Imposed upon us at present or to come, but such as shall be Enacted by consent of the body of Freemen or Associates, or their Representatives legally assembled; which is according to the free Liberties of the free born People of *England.*

Laws to be made by the Freemen or their representatives.

"2. And for the well Governing this Colony: It is also Resolved and Ordered, that there be a free Election annually, of Governour, Deputy Governour and Assistants, by the Vote of the Freemen of this Corporation.

Annually chosen by the free men.

"3. It is also Enacted, that Justice and Right be equally and impartially Administred unto all, not sold, denied or causelesly deferred unto any.

Justice to be equally and speedily administred.

"4. It is also Enacted, that no person in this Government shall suffer or be indamaged, in respect of Life, Limb, Liberty, Good Name or Estate, under colour of Law, or countenance of Authority, but by Virtue or Equity of some express Law of the General Court of this Colony, or the good and equitable Laws of our Nation, suitable for us, in matters which are of a civil nature (as by the Court here hath been accustomed) wherein we have no particular Law of our own.

None to suffer but according to Law and by due course and process of Law.

And that none shall suffer as aforesaid, without being brought to answer by due course and process of *Law*.

"5. And that all Cases, whither Capital, Criminal, or between man and man, be Tried by a Jury of twelve good and lawful men, accord- All Trials to be by Jury. ing to the Commendable custome of England, except where some express Law doth referre it to the judgment of some other Judg or Inferiour Court where Jury is not; in which Case also, any party agrieved, may Appeal and have Trial by a Jury.

"And it shall be in the liberty of any person, that is to be tried by a Jury to challenge any of the Jurors, and if the challenge be found With liberty to challenge any of the jury. just and reasonable by the Bench, it shall be allowed, and others without just exception shall be Impanelld in their room: And if it be in case of Life and Death, the Prisoner shall have liberty (according to the Law of *England*) to except against twenty of the Jury without giving any reason for the same.

"6. That no Person shall be Cast, Condemned or Sentenced in any Case Capital, Civil or Criminal without the testimony of two suffi- What testimony required in cases. cient Witnesses, or other sufficient Evidence, or Circumstances equivalent thereunto, unless in any particular Case the Law hath otherways provided.

"7. And it is Enacted; Being the Priviledge of our Charter; That all Persons of the Age of *twenty one* Years, of right understanding and Power to make Wills. memory, whether Excommunicated, Condemned, or other, having any Estate properly theirs to dispose of, shall have Power and Liberty to make their reasonable Wills and Testaments, and other lawful Alienations of their Lands and Estates; be it only here excepted, That such as are sentenced for Treason against the King's Majesty, or Realm of England, or other Capital crimes, shall forfeit to the King or Col- An Exception. ony, for the carrying on the Charge of Government, their personal Estate: Their Lands and real Estate being still at their disposal.

"8. That whereas the great and known end of the first Comers in the year of our Lord, 1620. leaving their dear Native Country, and all The great end of our coming into this Wilderness was Liberty to enjoy the pure worship of God without offence to others. that was dear to them there; transporting of themselves over the vast Ocean, into this remote wast Wilderness, and therein willingly conflicting with Dangers, Losses, Hardships and Distresses, sore, and not a few, Was, that without offence, they under the protection of their Native Prince, together with the enlargement of his Majesties Dominion, might with the liberty of a good Con-

science enjoy the pure Scriptural worship of God, without the mixture of humane inventions and impositions; and that their Children after them might walk in the Holy wayes of the Lord: And for which end they obtained leave from King *James* of happy Memory, and His Honourable Council: with farther Grants from His Gracious Majesty, *Charles* the I. and His Honourable Council, by Letters, Patents for sundry Tracts of Land, with many Priviledges therein contained for their better Encouragement to proceed on in so Pious a Work, which may especially tend to the propagation of Religion, etc. as by Letters, Patents more at large appeareth; with further assurance also of the continuance of our Liberties and Priviledges, both Civil and Religious under the Royal hand and Seal of our Soveraign Lord King *Charles* the II. And whereas by the good hand of our God upon us, many others since the first comers, are for the same end come unto us, and sundry others rise up amongst us, desirous with all good Conscience, to walk in the Faith and Order of the Gospel, whereby there are many Churches gathered amongst us, walking according thereunto: And whereas (by the Grace of God) we have now had above sixty Years experience of the good consistancy of these Churches, with Loyalty to our Prince, civil Peace and Order, and also with spiritual Edification, together with the welfare and tranquility of the Government.

"It is therefore for the honour of God, and the propagation of Religion, and the continued welfare of this Colony, Ordered by this Court and the Authority thereof, That the said Churches already Gathered, or that shall be orderly Gathered, may and shall from time to time by this Government be Protected and Incouraged in their peaceable and orderly walking, and the faithful, able, orthodox Teaching Ministry thereof duely incouraged and provided for: together with such other orthodox, able Dispensers of the Gospel, which shall or may be placed in any Township in this Government, where there is or may be defect of Church Order.

The Churches of Christ to be protected.

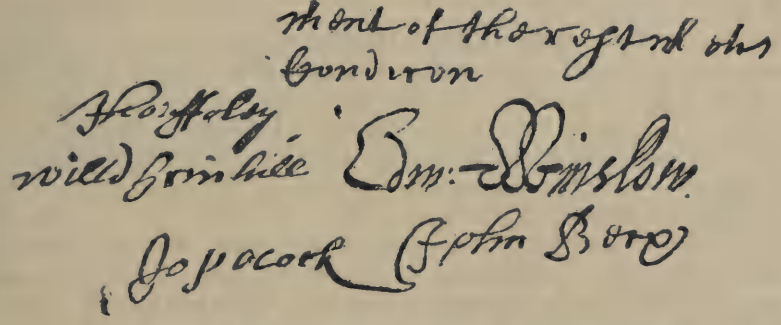
And the Ministers of the Gospel to be provided for.

"9. And finally, It is Ordered and Declared by this Court and the Authority thereof, that all these aforegoing Orders and Constitutions are so Fundamentally Essential to the just Rights, Liberties, Common Good, and Special End of this Colony, as that they shall and ought to be inviolably preserved."

All the foregoing Fundamentals inviolably to be preserved.

The tendency of legislation on the punishment of crime had been the same in the several Colonies. Coming from the same country, and adopting for the most part what the English statutory laws provided, they intro-

duced some novel features due to their intense hatred of what they held to be sin or to their material surroundings. Some immoralities which in England fell under the discipline of the ecclesiastical courts, and were usually punishable by a fine, public confession or an act of public penance, in the colonies were punishable by death. The series of enactments which passed in Massachusetts and were embodied in the "Liberties of the Massachusets Colonie in New England" of 1641, were in the main adopted in the other colonies. In 1644 the Commissioners of the United Colonies recommended that a verdict or sentence of a court in one jurisdiction should have a due respect in any other court through the colonies unless better evidence or some just cause should appear to alter or make void the original decision. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 24. Compare the "full faith and credit" clause in the Constitution of the United States, Art 4. § 1.



ADVENTURERS IN IRON WORKS AT BRAINTREE

Anno Dom: ·1637·[1]

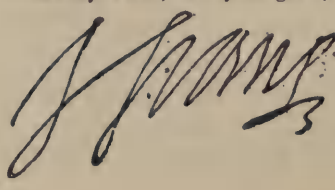
IN the fore parte of this year, the Pequents fell openly upon the English at Conightecute, in the lower parts of the river, and slew sundry of them, (as they were at work in the feilds,) both men and women, to the great terrour of the rest; and wente away in great pride and triumph, with many high threats.[2] They allso assalted a fort at the rivers mouth, though strong and well defended; [3] and though they did not their prevaile, yet it struck them with much fear and astonishmente to see their bould attempts in the face of danger; which made them in all places to stand upon their gard, and to prepare for resistance, and ernestly to solissite their freinds and confedrates in the Bay of Massachusets to send them speedy aide, for they looked for more forcible assaults. Mr. Vane,[4] being then Gov[erno]r, write from their Generall Courte to

[1] This year Bradford was again called to the office of chief magistrate, and Edward Winslow, Timothy Hatherley, John Alden, William Collier, Thomas Prence, Myles Standish, and John Jenny were chosen assistants. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 48.

[2] Watertown [Wethersfield], Conn., was attacked by Indians who surprised some of the inhabitants unguarded in the fields. They killed six men and three women, and carried away two maids. The Pequots were the offenders. Winthrop, *History*, I. *218. See also Hooker's letter to Winthrop in 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 388. The three settlements on the river had now changed their names, Watertown becoming Wethersfield; Newtown, Hartford; and Dorchester, Windsor. The relative importance may be measured by the call made, in May, 1637, upon them for men to serve in the expedition against the Pequots; of ninety men, Hartford was to furnish forty-two, Windsor, thirty, and Wethersfield, eighteen. *Conn. Col. Rec.*, I. 9.

[3] Saybrook fort.

[4] Henry Vane, the younger (1613–1662), was elected governor of Massachusetts in March, 1636. The Pequot outbreak took place during his official period. With the assistance of Roger Williams he negotiated a treaty of peace with the Narragansetts (Winthrop, I. *198), but becoming embroiled in the so-called antinomian controversy, after the expiration of his official



them hear, to joyne with them in this warr; to which they were cordially willing, but tooke opportunitie to write to them aboute some former things, as well as presente, considerable hereaboute.[1]

year he left the colony, returning to England, August 3, 1637. Hosmer, *Life of Young Sir Harry Vane ; Dictionary of National Biography*, LVIII. 116.

[1] Winslow was sent to the Bay, in May, 1637, by the Governor and Council of New Plymouth, to treat about joint operations against the Pequots. He had authority to express their willingness to coöperate, but nothing could be done until the meeting of the General Court on June 7. "Then he made some objections: as, 1. Our refusal to aid them against the French. 2. Our people's trading at Kenebeck. 3. The injury offered them at Connecticut by those of Windsor, in taking away their land there. 4. Their own poverty, and our ability, which needed not any help from them.

"To this answer was made by our governour [Vane] and deputy [Winthrop]: that, 1. We did not desire them to afford aid unto us, but to join against the common enemy, who, if he were not subdued, would prove as dangerous to them as to us, and, he prevailing, would cause all the Indians in the country to join to root out all the English. 2. For our refusal to aid them against the French, the case was not alike, for it was their private quarrel, and they were supposed to have commission from the King of France, and we thought it no wisdom for us to engage ourselves in a war with the King of France; yet we acknowledged some failing in it. For our people's trading at Kenebeck, we answered, that we gave no allowance to it, nor had we heard of more than a boat or two that had been there. For the injury done them at Connecticut, we had dealt with them to give satisfaction, but it was not in our power to do them justice in it. He alleged also, that this war did not concern them, seeing the Pequods had not killed any of theirs. We answered, that Capt. Stone, etc., for whom this war was begun, were none of ours neither. He alleged further, that, in our first undertaking, they were not acquainted with it till two or three days before our forces were to go forth. We answered, we intended at the first to send only to Block Island, and for that we thought it not needful to trouble them, and our sending them thence to the Pequods was with hope to draw them to parley, and so to some quiet end. We concluded to write further to them from our next court. And whereas they propounded to have us promise to aid them in all their occasions, etc., we answered, that, seeing, when we now treated with them about joining with us, they were at liberty and might withhold, except they saw reason to move them; so we desired to be left free, that we might judge of the reason of any such occasion as might fall out. According hereunto we writ to them the 20th of the 3d. month." Winthrop, *History*, 1. *218. In the interval between Winslow's mission and May 20, Winthrop had succeeded Vane as governor. The letter which follows is, therefore, his production. "The truth is," wrote Winslow upon his return to New Plymouth, and ten days after the conference in Boston, "if onece they [the Indians] be routed we know their courage will

The which will best appear in the Gov[erno]r['s] answer which he returned to the same, which I shall here inserte.

Sir: The Lord having so disposed, as that your letters to our late Gov[erno]r is fallen to my lott to make answer unto, I could have wished I might have been at more freedome of time and thoughts also, that I might have done it more to your and my owne satisfaction. But what shall be wanting now may be supplyed hearafter. For the matters which from your selfe and counsell were propounded and objected to us, we thought not fitte to make them so publicke as the cognizance of our Generall Courte. But as they have been considered by those of our counsell, this answer we thinke fitt to returne unto you (1) Wereas you signifie your willingnes to joyne with us in this warr against the Pequents, though you cannot ingage your selves without the consente of your Generall Courte, we acknowledg your good affection towards us, (which we never had cause to doubt of,) and are willing to attend your full resolution, when it may most seasonably be ripened. (2ly.) Wheras you make this warr to be our peoples, and not [221] to conceirne your selves, otherwise then by consequence, we do in parte consente to you therin; yet we suppose, that, in case of perill, you will not stand upon shuch terms, as we hope we should not doe towards you; and withall we conceive that you looke at the Pequents, and all other Indeans, as a commone enimie, who, though he may take occasion of the begining of his rage, from some one parte of the English, yet if he prevaile, will surly pursue his advantage, to the rooting out of the whole nation. Therfore when we desired your help, we did it not without respecte to your owne saftie, as ours. (3ly.) Wheras you desire we should be ingaged to aide you, upon all like occasions; we are perswaded you doe not doubte of it; yet as we now deale with you as a free people, and at libertie, so as we cannot draw you into this warr with us, otherwise then as reason may guid and provock you; so we desire we may be at the like freedome, when any occasion may call for help from us. And wheras it is objected to us, that we refused to

faile: *ergo*, feere not. I pray you when the questions are once stated for the conference, let us haue a coppy of them." 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, vi. 164.

aide you against the French; we conceive the case was not alicke; yet we cannot wholy excuse our failing in that matter.[1]

(4ly.) Weras you objecte that we began the warr without your privitie, and managed it contrary to your advise; the truth is, that our first intentions being only against Block Island, and the interprice seeming of small difficultie, we did not so much as consider of taking advice, or looking out for aide abroad. And when we had resolved upon the Pequents, we sent presently, or not long after, to you about it; but the answer received, it was not seasonable for us to chaing our counsells, excepte we had seen and waighed your grounds, which might have out wayed our owne.

(5ly.) For our peoples trading at Kenebeck, we assure you (to our knowledge) it hath not been by any allowance from us; and what we have provided in this and like cases, at our last Courte, Mr. E. W[inslow] can certifie you.[2]

And (6ly.); wheras you objecte to us that we should hold trade and correspondencie with the French, your enemise; we answer, you are misinformed, for, besides some letters which hath passed betweene our late Gov[erno]r and them, to which we were privie, we have neither sente nor incouraged ours to trade with them; only one vessell or tow, for the better conveance of our letters, had licens from our Gov[erno]r to sayle thither.[3]

Diverce other things have been privatly objected to us, by our worthy freind, wherunto he received some answer; but most of them concerning the apprehentions of perticuler discurteseis, or injueries from some perticuler persons amongst us. It concernes us not to give

[1] See p. 212, *supra*.

[2] "For avoyding the evills and inconveniences which have risen by trading with the Indians in other parts, — It is ordered, that from hencefourth no person of this iurisdiction shall trade out of the limits of the same with any Indian, vpon paine of such fine, and other censure, as the Court whearin it shalbee tryed shall see cause to inflict, according to the power of the Court and measure of the offence." This law, passed in May, 1637, was repealed in the November following. Difficult of enforcement, it was in other respects obnoxious to the traders. It is indicative of the disordered conditions then prevailing in the traffic with the natives.

[3] But by this means they did furnish them, and have still continued to doe. — BRADFORD.

any other answer to them then this; that, if the offenders shall be brought forth in a right way, we shall be ready to doe justice as the case shall require. In the meane time, we desire you to rest assured, that shuch things are without our privity, and not a litle greeveous to us.

Now for the joyning with us in this warr, which indeed concerns us no other wise then it may your selves, viz.: the releeving of our freinds and Christian [222] breethren, who are now first in the danger; though you may thinke us able to make it good without you, (as, if the Lord please to be with us, we may,) yet·3·things we offer to your consideration, which (we conceive) may have some waight with you. (First) that if we should sinck under this burden, your opportunitie of seasonable help would be lost in·3·respects. 1. You cannot recover us, or secure your selves ther, with·3·times the charge and hazard which now you may. 2ly. The sorrowes which we should lye under (if through your neglect) would much abate of the acceptablenes of your help afterwards. 3ly. Those of yours, who are now full of courage and forwardnes, would be much damped, and so less able to undergoe so great a burden. The (2) thing is this, that it concernes us much to hasten this warr to an end before the end of this sommer, other wise the newes of it will discourage both your and our freinds from coming to us next year; with what further hazard and losse it may expose us unto, your selves may judge.

The (3) thing is this, that if the Lord shall please to blesse our endea[v]ours, so as we end the warr, or put it in a hopefull way without you, it may breed shuch ill thoughts in our people towards yours, as will be hard to entertaine shuch opinione of your good will towards us, as were fitt to be nurished among shuch neigbours and brethren as we are. And what ill consequences may follow, on both sides, wise men may fear, and would rather prevente then hope to redress. So with my harty salutations to you selfe, and all your counsell, and other our good freinds with you, I rest

Yours most assured in the Lord,
Jo: Winthrop.

Boston, the·20· of the·3· month,[1] 1637.

[1] May.



INDIANS OF CONNECTICUT

In the mean time, the Pequents, espetially in the *winter before*, sought to make peace with the Narigansets, and used very pernicious arguments to move them therunto: as that the English were stranegers and begane to overspred their countrie, and would deprive them thereof in time, if they were suffered to grow and increse; and if the Narigansets did assist the English to subdue them, they did but make way for their owne overthrow, for if they were rooted out, the English would soone take occasion to subjugate them; and if they would harken to them, they should not neede to fear the strength of the English; for they would not come to open battle with them, but fire their houses, kill their katle, and lye in ambush for them as they went abroad upon their occasions; and all this they might easily doe without any or litle danger to them selves. The which course being held, they well saw the English could not long subsiste, but they would either be starved with hunger, or be forced to forsake the countrie; with many the like things; insomuch that the Narigansets were once wavering, and were halfe minded to have made peace with them, and joyned against the English. But againe when they considered, how much wrong they had received from the Pequents, and what an oppertunitie they now had by the help of the English to right them selves, revenge was so sweete unto them, as it prevailed above all the rest; so as they resolved to joyne with the English against them, and did.[1] [223] The Court here agreed for[th]with to send ·50· men at their owne charge; and with as much speed as possiblie they could, gott them armed, and had made them ready under sufficiente leaders, and provided a barke to carrie them provisions and tend upon them for all occasions; but when they were ready to march (with a supply from the Bay) they had word to stay, for

[1] In August, 1636, Williams reported to Winthrop that the "Pequods and Narragansetts were at truce, and that Miantunomoh told him, that the Pequods had labored to persuade them, that the English were minded to destroy all Indians." On this Massachusetts Bay sent for the sachem and made treaty with him, as mentioned on p. 242, *supra*.

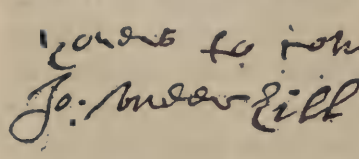
the enimy was as good as vanquished, and their would be no neede.[1]

I shall not take upon me exactly to describe their proceedings in these things, because I expecte it will be fully done by them selves, who best know the carrage and circumstances of things; I shall therfore but touch them in generall. From Connightecute (who

[1] The court in its session of June 7 decided to send aid to assist Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut in their war "against the Pequin Indians, in revenge of the innocent blood of the English which the said Pequins have barbarously shed, and refuse to give satisfaction for." Thirty persons for the land service, and as many others as should be sufficient to manage the bark, were to be provided, and Lieutenant William Holmes was elected to go as leader of the company; Thomas Prence, also "elected by lott" for the council of war, was to accompany the expedition. A list of forty-two soldiers willingly offering to go, and of three who would go if pressed, is given in *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 60.

Winslow reported June 5 to Winthrop the action taken. "Being newly rysen from court I was requested by our governor, who cannot at present write, to dispatch a messenger to you presently to informe you that we have this day by solemne act of court ingaged ourselves to take part with you and our brethren of Conectacut in the war against the Pecoats, purposing to sett fourth thirty men for the land service, besides the managing of the vessels which we conceive will not be lesse than forty; now we feare it will be longer than we willingly would for want of coats or coslets which are very scarce with us, unless you can furnish us, for which we would willingly pay, as also some other necessaries thereunto belonging; to morrow we shall know who are the men goe with them, but hereof our governor will write at large (who desireth to salute you once more by my pen) so soone as our court is ended and opportunity is offered.

"Another maine end of our sending is in regard we have heard no more, till since we rose this evening, of the last expedition of our brethren and Capt. Underhill, and that is by Capt. Standish his Indian, who was sent this morning to Namasket, and saith the defeat of the fort is true and that onely three English were slaine in the taking of it. As also that the aforesaid English and Capt. Patrick are still at Narrogthigganset, and have been daies, which makes us jealous and shall be till we hear from you, and the rather because you heard nothing from any of them by letter when John Jenny came away. I pray you therefore let us heare, and let not this (though true) discourage the sending of your 160 men, but take such revenge as may be a service to after times for any of the barbarians to rise against us." *Hutchinson Papers*, *67.



were most sencible of the hurt sustained, and the present danger), they sett out a partie of men,[1] and an other partie mett them from the Bay, at the Narigansets, who were to joyne with them. The Narigansets were ernest to be gone before the English were well rested and refreshte, espetially some of them which came last. It should seeme their desire was to come upon the enemie sudenly, and undiscovered. Ther was a barke[2] of this place, newly put in ther, which was come from Conightecutte, who did incourage them to lay hold of the Indeans forwardnes, and to shew as great forwardnes as they, for it would incorage them, and expedition might prove to their great advantage. So they wente on, and so ordered their march, as the Indeans brought them to a forte of the enimies (in which most of their cheefe men were) before day.[3] They

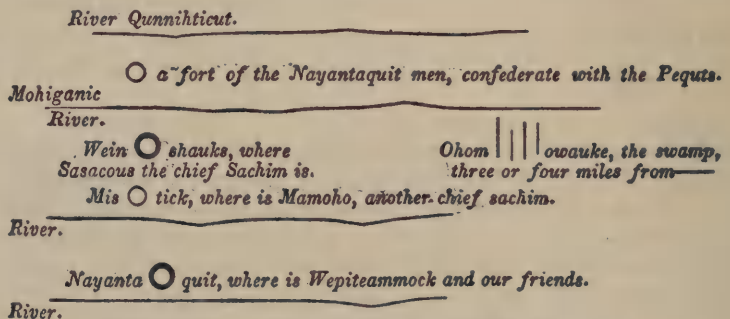
[1] The three plantations on Connecticut, voted in May, to raise ninety men, with the necessary arms and provision, and Pynchon's shallop was taken for the service. The Court decided that it should be an "offensive war against the Pequoitt." Captain John Mason commanded. *Conn. Col. Rec.*, I. 9. Massachusetts Bay decided to raise one hundred and sixty men, but a body of forty had already (in May) been sent on to the Narragansetts, where they expected to be joined by Miantunomo and sixteen of his men. The plan of operations seems to have been suggested by the Narragansetts, as described in Roger Williams' letter.

[2] The bark was probably that belonging to Anthony Dix (or Dike). Gardiner relates that "Anthony Dike, master of a bark, having his bark at Rhode Island in the winter, was sent by Mr. Vane, then Governor. Anthony came to Rhode Island by land, and from thence he came with his bark to me with a letter, wherein was desired that I should consider and prescribe the best way I could to quell these Pequits, which I also did, and with my letter sent the man's rib [with the Indian arrow head imbedded] as a token." 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, III. 144. This was early in May, 1637. See Roger Williams' letter in 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 189.

[3] The guides were two renegade Pequots, Wequash and Wuttackquiackommin, who had lived among the Narragansetts for some years, but who had not forgotten "every pass and passage of the Pequot country."

The fort was known as Mistick, lying on a river of the same name, where Mononotto was the chief sachem. Some three or four miles back of the fort was a large swamp, called by the Indians Ohomowauke, which means Owl's Nest. This swamp was the place of final refuge. By cutting off retreat to it, practical extermination of the Indians was assured. Roger Williams gave in his letter to Winthrop, of

aproached the same with great silence, and surrounded it both with English and Indeans, that they might not breake out; and so assualted them with great courage, shooting amongst them, and entered the forte with all speed; and those that first entered found sharp resistance from the enimie, who both shott at and grapled with them; others rane into their howses, and brought out fire, and sett them one fire, which soone tooke in their matts, and standing close togeather, with the wind, all was quickly on a flame, and therby more were burnte to death then was otherwise slain; it burnte their bowstrings, and made them unservisable. Those that scaped the



WILLIAMS' SKETCH OF PEQUOT COUNTRY

fire were slaine with the sword; some hewed to peeces, others rune throw with their rapiers, so as they were quickly dispatchte, and very few escaped. It was conceived they thus destroyed about ·400· at this time.[1] It was a fearfull sight to see them thus frying in the fyer, and the streams of blood quenching the same, and horrible was the stinck and sente ther of; but the victory seemed a sweete sacrifice, and they gave the prays therof to God, who had wrought

May, 1637, a rough plan of the country. 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, I. 161. A plan of the fort will be found in Underhill.

[1] The sketch of the Pequot country is taken from that printed in 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, I. 161. The original of Roger Williams' letter to John Winthrop, in which the sketch was found, is not in existence.

A True Relation of the Late Battell fought in *New England*, between the Engliſh, and the *Salvages*.

VVith the preſent ſtate of things there.



LONDON,
Printed by *M. P.* for *Nathanael Butter*, and *Iohn Bellamie*. 1637.

so wonderfuly for them, thus to inclose their enimise in their hands, and give them so speedy a victory over so proud and insulting an enimie. The Narigansett Indeans, all this while, stood round aboute, but aloofe from all danger, and left the whole [224] execution to the English, exept it were the stoping of any that broke away, insulting over their enimies in this their ruine and miserie, when they saw them dancing in the flames, calling them by a word in their owne language, signifing, O brave Pequents! which they used familierly among them selves in their own prayes, in songs of triumph after their victories.[1] After this servis was thus happily accomplished, they marcht to the water side, wher they mett with some of their vesells, by which they had refreishing with victualls and other necessaries. But in their march the rest of the Pequents drew into a body, and acoasted them, thinking to have some advantage against them be [by] reason of a neck of land; but when they saw the English prepare for them, they kept aloofe, so as they neither did hurt, nor could receive any. After their refreishing and repair to geather for further counsell and directions, they resolved to pursue their victory, and follow the warr against the rest, but the Narigansett Indeans most of them forsooke them, and shuch of them as they had with them for guides, or other wise, they found

[1] Williams (*Key*, 200) gives the words Keénomppaûog and Mûckquomppaûog, meaning captains or valiant men. From the second word the term "mugwump" has been derived.

As allies the Indians were of little service in the Pequot war. Their attitude was one of uncertainty, and so impaired the confidence in them that the soldiers had "a great itch to fall foul" upon the Narragansetts. "Captain Patrick confesseth that they were the chief actors in the last captives, and had taken all by a wile and slaine two before the English came. I heare no speech at present about inequality, but content and affection toward vs." *Roger Williams to John Winthrop*, July, 1637, 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 196. The Indians claimed that they had been slighted by the English, and that Miantunomo, after performing good service, had been insulted and even threatened with bodily injury. For that reason they separated from the English, refusing even to supply them with guides. 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, I. 163.

them very could and backward in the bussines, etheir out of envie, or that they saw the English would make more profite of the victorie then they were willing they should, or els deprive them of such advantage as them selves desired by having them become tributaries unto them, or the like.

For the rest of this bussines, I shall only relate the same as it is in a leter which came from Mr. Winthrop to the Gov[erno]r hear, as followeth.[1]

WORTHY SIR: I received your loving letter, and am much provocked to express my affections towards you, but straitnes of time forbids me; for my desire is to acquainte you with the Lords greate mercies towards us, in our prevailing against his and our enimies; that you may rejoyce and praise his name with us. About ·80· of our men, haveing costed along towards the Dutch plantation, (some times by water, but most by land,) mett hear and ther with some Pequents, whom they slew or tooke prisoners. ·2· sachems they tooke, and beheaded; and not hearing of Sassacous,[2] (the cheefe sachem,) they gave a prisoner his life, to goe and find him out.[3] He wente and brought them word wher he was, but Sassacouse, suspecting him to be a spie, after he was gone, fled away with some·20·more to the Mowakes, so our men missed of him. Yet, deviding them selves, and ranging up and downe, as the providence of God guided them (for the Indeans were all gone, save·3·or·4· and they knew not whither to guide them, or

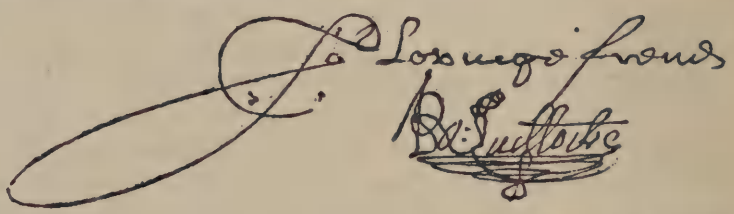
[1] This letter is in substance what appears in Winthrop, *History*, I. *233.

[2] Sassacus lived on the Thames (Mohiganic, according to Roger Williams) River, but his sway extended from the Narragansett Bay almost to Hudson's River, and to Long Island. The Mohegans, the Nahanticks and the Pequots formed one confederacy, and Sassacus was now the chief. A brother, Tassaquanott, survived the Pequot war, and another brother, Puppompoges, is mentioned by Roger Williams. The manner of describing Sassacus by the Commissioners of the Colonies, in 1649, as "the mallignant furious Pequot," indicates the fear he inspired, and a mere rumor of a marriage between one of these brothers and a daughter of Ninigret gave rise to a belief that the Pequots would again be united and prove dangerous to the colonies. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 145. The Nahanticks are the Niantics.

[3] His name was Puttaquappuonck-quame. Caulkins, *History of New London*, 37 *n.*

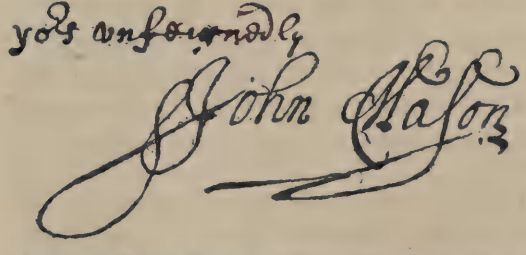
els would not), upon the ·*13*· *of this month*, they light upon a great company of them, viz. 80. strong men, and ·200· women and children, in a small Indean towne, fast by a hideous swamp, which they all slipped into before our men could gett to them. Our captains were not then come togeither, but ther was Mr. Ludlow [1] and Captaine Masson,[2] with some ·10· [225] of their men, and Captaine Patrick [3] with some ·20· or more of his, who, shooting at the Indeans, Captaine Trask [4] with ·50· more came soone in at the noyse. Then they gave

[1] Roger Ludlow (1590–), of Dinton, Wilts., was one of the Dorchester settlers at Windsor, and had served as assistant and deputy governor of Massachusetts Bay.

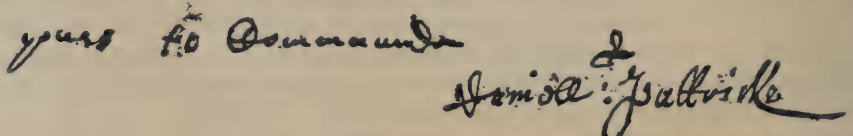


Taking a prominent position in the Connecticut settlement from the start, he was chosen deputy governor of the colony. Later he removed to Virginia and died there.

[2] John Mason (–1672) was also one of the Dorchester people at Windsor. His life has been written by George E. Ellis, in Sparks, *American Biography*, 2d. ser. III.

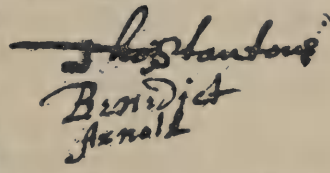


[3] Daniel Patrick, one of two captains in regular pay, possessed some military experience before he came to New England with Winthrop. A resident of Watertown, he became a freeman in 1631, and about 1640 removed to Connecticut, purchasing in Norwalk land of Roger Ludlow. He was killed by a Dutchman at Stamford, in 1643.

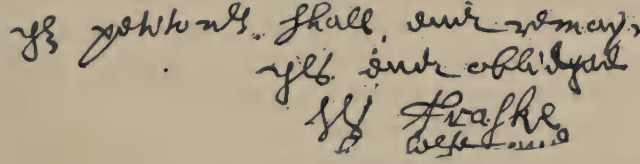


[4] William Trask, of Salem, was in New England before the coming of the Endecott party and declared his intention of becoming a freeman in October, 1630. No record

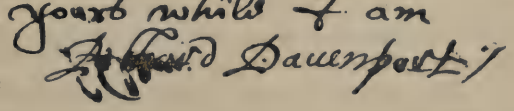
order to surround the swampe, it being aboute a mile aboute; but Leyetenante Davenporte [1] and some·12·more, not hearing that command, fell into the swampe among the Indeans. The swampe was so thicke with shrubwoode, and so boggie with all, that some of them stuck fast, and received many shott. Levetenant Davenport was dangerously wounded aboute his armehole, and another shott in the head, so as, fainting, they were in great danger to have been taken by the Indeans. But Sargante Rigges,[2] and Jeffery,[3] and ·2· or ·3· more, rescued them, and slew diverse of the Indeans with their swords. After they were drawne out, the Indeans desired parley, and were offered (by Thomas Stanton, our interpretour) that, if they would come out, and yeeld them selves, they should have their lives, all that had not their hands in the English blood. Wherupon the sachem of the place came forth, and an old man or ·2· and their wives and chilldren, and after that some other women and children, and so they spake·2· howers, till it was night. Then Thomas Stanton was sente into them



shows that he was sworn as such, but his election to the office of captain in 1632 and in subsequent years proves his estimation in the plantation. He died in 1666.



[1] Richard Davenport came with the Endecott party in 1628, from Weymouth, in Dorsetshire. He settled in Salem, and proved loyal to Endecott when the latter cut the red cross from the ensign, and also in the antinomian troubles. Removing to Boston in 1642, he was captain of the castle in 1665. While serving in that capacity he was killed by a stroke of lightning.



[2] Edward Riggs, of Roxbury.

[3] Thomas Jeffrey, of Dorchester, who later removed to New Haven, where he died in 1661.

againe, to call them forth; but they said they would selle their lives their, and so shott at him so thicke as, if he had not cried out, and been presently rescued, they had slaine him. Then our men cutt of a place of the swampe with their swords, and cooped the Indeans into so narrow a compass, as they could easier kill them throw the thikets. So they continued all the night, standing aboute ·12· foote one from an other, and the Indeans, coming close up to our men, shot their arrows so thicke, as they pierced their hatte brimes, and their sleeves, and stockins, and other parts of their cloaths, yet so miraculously did the Lord preserve them as not one of them was wounded, save those ·3· who rashly went into the swampe. When it was nere day, it grue very darke, so as those of them which were left dropt away betweene our men, though they stood but ·12· or ·14· foote assunder; but were presenly discovered, and some killed in the pursute. Upon searching of the swampe, the next morning, they found ·9· slaine, and some they pulled up, whom the Indeans had buried in the mire, so as they doe thinke that, of all this company, not ·20· did escape, for they after found some who dyed in their flight of their wounds received. The prisoners were devided, some to those of the river, and the rest to us. Of these we send the male children to Bermuda,[1] by Mr. William Peirce, and the women and maid children are disposed aboute in the townes. Ther have been now slaine and taken, in all, aboute ·700· The rest are dispersed, and the Indeans in all quarters so terrified as all their friends are affraid to receive them. 2. of the sachems of Long Iland came to Mr. Stoughton and tendered them selves to be tributaries under our protection.[2] And ·2· of the Neepnett sachems have been

[1] But they were carried to the West-Indeas. — BRADFORD.

Starting for the Bermudas with fifteen boys and two women, Peirce carried them to Providence Isle, where they were sold into bondage. Unlike the Africans, the aboriginal Americans were not easily domesticated. Sold as slaves, those who escaped from bondage were, when captured, branded on the shoulder. As to Providence Island see Hassam, in 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XIII. 4.

[2] This protection was in consideration of a tribute payment theretofore made by tribes both on Long Island and in Connecticut, which had paid tribute to the Pequots, but thenceforth transferred to the English. The burden of this tribute in bad seasons fell heavily upon a race who had little or no accumulated stock of goods, and whose manner of living was not consistent with any regular industrial occupa-



BOUNDS OF PEQUOT COUNTRY, 1662.

with me to seeke our frendship. Amonge the prisoners we have the wife and children of Mononotto,[1] a woman of a very modest countenance and behaviour. It was by her mediation that they [the]·2· English [226] maids were spared from death, and were kindly used by her; so that I have taken charge of her. One of her first requests was, that the English would not abuse her body, and that her children might not be taken from her. Those which were wounded were fetched of soone by John Galopp,[2] who came with his shalop in a happie houre, to bring them victuals, and to carrie their wounded men to the pinnass, wher our cheefe surgeon was, with Mr. Willson,[3] being aboute ·8· leagues off. Our people are all in health, (the Lord be praised,) and allthough they had marched in their armes all the day, and had been in fight all the night, yet they professed they found them selves so fresh as they could willingly have gone to shuch another bussines.

This is the substance of that which I received, though I am forced to omite many considerable circomstances. So, being in much straitnes of time, (the ships being to departe within this ·4· days, and in them the Lord Lee and Mr. Vane,)[4] I hear breake of, and with harty salutes to, etc., I rest

Yours assured,
Jo: Winthrop.

The ·28· of the ·5· month [July,] 1637.

The captains reporte we have slaine ·13· sachems; but Sassacouse and Monotto are yet living.

tion. The enforcement of its payment involved the settlers in almost constant trouble with the Indians.

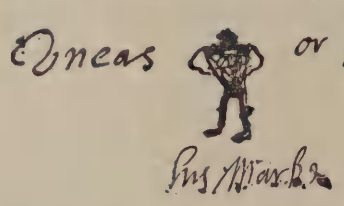
[1] The Mamoho of Williams' map, and second in importance to Sassacus. This prominence made him an object of the English wrath, and he fled to the Mohawks with Sassacus, but escaped death at their hands. It is supposed he was afterwards killed by the English. Drake gives the name of his wife as Wincumbone. *Indians of North America*, 174.

[2] John Gallop, of Dorchester, whose shallop receives not infrequent mention in colonial records, was a fisherman and pilot.

[3] Rev. John Wilson, who accompanied the troops on the expedition.

[4] Lord Ley and ex-Governor Vane embarked at Boston on August 3d for England.

That I may make an end of this matter: this Sassacouse (the Pequents cheefe sachem) being fled to the Mowhakes, they cutt of his head,[1] with some other of the cheefe of them, whether to satisfie the English, or rather the Narigansets, (who, as I have since heard, hired them to doe it,) or for their owne advantage, I well know not; but thus this warr tooke end. The rest of the Pequents were wholy driven from their place, and some of them submitted them selves to the Narigansets, and lived under them; others of them betooke them selves to the Monhiggs, under Uncass,[2] their sachem, with the approbation of the English of Conightecutt, under whose protection Uncass lived, and he and his men had been faithfull to them in this warr, and done them very good service. But this did so vexe the Narrigansetts, that they had not the whole sweay over them, as they have never ceased plotting and contriving how to bring them under, and because they cannot attaine their ends, because of the English who have protected them, they have sought to raise a generall conspiracie against the English, as will appear in an other place.[3]



[1] On August 5 Ludlow and Pynchon delivered to the authorities in Boston the scalp of Sassacus.

[2] Of Uncas much will be found in the subsequent pages of Bradford, but the full treatment of his relations with the English and with his fellow Indians more properly belongs to Winthrop's *History*. New Plymouth had some interest in his actions and some part in bringing him forward as the leading Indian confederate of the plantations; it was, however, rather as a member of the Confederation of the Colonies than as a direct agent that this interest and influence were exerted.

[3] Apart from minor considerations, the Pequot war was undertaken with two essential ends in view: first, to put a stop to the killing of the English by the Indians; and secondly, to open a safe path to the Connecticut from the settlement on the Bay. So far as these ends were attained the conflict was justified by its outcome. As a result of the capture of the Pequot fort and the practical massacre of the tribe, peace with the Indians was established until what is known as "Philip's War." While the Pequots had practically ceased to exist, the harboring of fugitives by other Indian

They had now letters againe out of England from Mr. Andrews and Mr. Beachamp, that Mr. Sherley neither had nor would pay them any money, or give them any accounte, and so with much discontent desired them hear to send them some, much blaming them still, that they had sent all to Mr. Sherley, and none to them selves. Now, though they might have justly referred them to their former answer, and insisted ther upon, and some wise men counselled them so to doe, yet because they beleeved that [227] they were realy out round sumes of money, (espetialy Mr. Andrews,) and they had some in their hands, they resolved to send them what bever they had.[1] Mr. Sherleys letters were to this purpose: that, as they had left him in the paiment of the former bills, so he had tould them he would leave them in this, and beleeve it, they should find it true. And he was as good as his word, for they could never gett peney from him, nor bring him to any accounte, though Mr. Beachamp sued him in the Chancerie. But they all of them turned their complaints against them here, wher ther was least cause, and who had suffered most unjustly; first from Mr. Allerton and them, in being charged with so much of that which they never had, nor drunke for; and now in paying all, and more then all (as they conceived), and yet still thus more demanded, and that with many

tribes brought upon them threats of punishment. On the other hand, certain grave disadvantages ensued. The cupidity of the settlers was excited by the plunder of the Pequots and the practical enslaving of the captives, while the wholesale killing inevitably led to an increase of the cruelties on the part of the Indians. Seeds of distrust also were sown among the tribes living nearer the English, and those more remote, impairing the relations which had heretofore existed between the English and the aborigines. Time only was necessary to ripen those conditions, and render another war of extermination inevitable. Writing in 1647, ten years after the event, the commissioners of the United Colonies recalled "the proud wars some yeares since made by the Pequatts, and the just resolutions of the English that, though after the warre they spared the lives of such as had noe hand in the bloude of the English, yet the remnant of that nation should not be suffered (if the English could help it) either to be a distinct people, or to retayne the name of Pequatts, or to settle in the Pequatt country." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 100.

[1] But staid it till the next year. — BRADFORD.

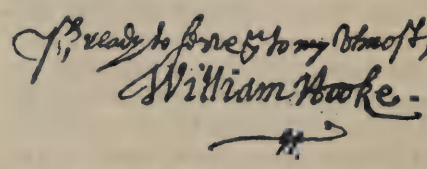
heavie charges.[1] They now discharged Mr. Sherley from his agencie, and forbad him to buy or send over any more goods for them, and prest him to come to some end about these things.[2]

[1] In Chancery Bills and Answers, Charles I, A 39:51 are found papers which are printed in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XLV. 611. A summary follows:

Andrews *v.* Sherley. 15 Feby. 1640–41. Orators Richard Andrewes and John Beauchamp, Cittizens and Marchants of London. Whereas in 1625, 1626, and 1627 there was a treaty between your Orators and one James Sherley, Cittizen and Goldsmith of London, concerning their mixing together to mainteyn a trade and adventure with the Governer and the rest of the parterners of Plymouth plantacon in New England. It was agreed that they and each of them should adventure and putt into stock to the purpose aforesaid the sum of £1100 or thereabouts apeece and that the said James Sherley should receive and dispose thereof in the said trade and adventure and should be sole factor and agent in the said trade. Orator Richard Andrewes paid James Sherley £1136 for his said share, and John Beauchamp paid £1127 as his share. James Sherley pretendeth that hee did alsoe add the some of £1190 for his share. James Sherley refuses to produce accounts and to show the profits of the adventure, so a writ of subpena is asked against James Sherley.

30 March 1641. The answer of James Sherley defendant to bill of complaint of Richard Andrewes and John Beauchamp. That Richard Andrewes liveth at Rotterdam in Holland and has been made a party to this suit without his consent. That the said compts. and this deft. were at severall times sollicited and drawn into this adventure at the earnest perswasion of one Isacke Allerton, agent for the planters of Plymouth in New England, to whome they gave authority. Object to obtain accounts. A copy of an account was deliuered to Edward Winslowe a planter who became agent in the room of Isaacke Allerton, March 1631. He is ready to give an account to the planters. Payments to Mr. Robert Hudson, Mr. Derick Host, and Peter Bullteele.

[2] In this year a settlement was begun at Cohannet, later known as Taunton. Upon the authority of Winthrop (*History*, I. *251) Mrs. Elizabeth Pool, an "ancient maid" of about fifty years of age, was the organizer, and he further states that she "endured much hardship, and lost much cattle," in the first winter. Tradition has asserted that she was influenced in this removal into the wilderness by Rev. William Hooke; but the time of his coming to New England is not known, and the first mention of his name in the Colony Records occurs in 1639. Neither Mrs. Pool nor Hooke is found in the list of the first purchasers of Cohannet, known as the Titicut purchase. In December, 1638, nine freemen were admitted from Cohannet, and a constable appointed. In March, 1640, the name was changed to Taunton, representa-



NEW ENGLANDS TEARES, FOR OLD ENGLANDS FEARES.

Preached in a Sermon on *July* 23. 1640 being a day of Publike Humiliation, appointed by the Churches in behalfe of our native Countrey in time of feared dangers.

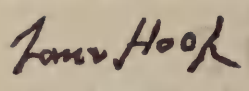
By WILLIAM HOOKE, Minister of Gods Word; sometimes *of Axmouth* in *Devonshire*, now of *Taunton* in *New-England*.

Sent over to a worthy Member of the honourable House of Commons, who desires it may be for publike good.

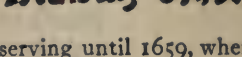
LONDON,

Printed by E.G. for *John Rothwell* and *Henry Overton*, and are to be sould at the Sunne in *Pauls* Church-yard, and in Popes-head Alley. 1641.

tives chosen to the General Court, and three months later the bounds of the territory were established by Myles Standish and John Brown. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 103, 105, II. 99. Mrs. Pool, with Hooke and Street, pastor and teacher of the church at that place, received a "competent meadow and upland" for farms. The grants to Hooke and Street were incident to the support of the church, the meadow addition to the town being upon the condition that "the ministers and people now there which are fitt and do proceede and continue in a church estate there the space of seauen yeares next ensuing, (except some speciall hand of God doe hinder the same)." No reason is given for placing Mrs. Pool in the same favored condition (*Ib.* I. 142); but the fact that she was the daughter of Sir William Pole, of Shute, Devonshire, may have controlled that and other grants made to her. After 1638 the local committees had authority to receive "peaceable and faithful people, according to their best discerning, as also faithfully to dispose of such equal and fit portions of lands unto them and every of them, as the several estates, ranks and qualities of such persons as the Almighty in his providence shall send in amongst them shall require." (*Ib.* I. 113.) The subject is examined at length by Henry Williams, in Old Colony Historical Society, *Collections*, I. 37.



Hooke's career was that of an independent preacher, and at Taunton where he preached for some seven years, he enjoyed the fullest freedom. About 1644 he removed to New Haven. Restive under the superior influence of Davenport, he returned to England in 1656, became a domestic chaplain to Cromwell, and died March 21, 1677. In 1640 he preached a sermon on a day of public humiliation, which appeared in print in London in the following year, and in 1645 another of his fast-day sermons was printed, — two of the small number of printed sermons issuing from Plymouth Plantation. In each instance the sermon was intrusted to a "worthy member of the honourable House of Commons." They possess interest only in showing that Hooke's liberal principles did not extend so far as to countenance the "monstrous opinions" that were advanced in the antinomian contest. His associate at Taunton, Nicholas Street, succeeded to the pastorship, serving until 1659, when he too removed to New Haven. Street's first wife is said to have been a sister of Elizabeth Pool. Emery, *The Ministry of Taunton*, I. 156.





TAUNTON AND MIDDLEBOROUGH, 1718.

Anno Dom: ·1638·

THIS year Mr. Thomas Prence was chosen Gov[erno]r.[1] Amongst other enormities that fell out amongst them, this year·3·men were (after due triall) executed for robery and murder which they had committed; their names were these, Arthur Peach, Thomas Jackson, and Richard Stinnings; ther was a·4·, Daniel Crose, who was also guilty, but he escaped away, and could not be found.[2] This Arthur Peach was the cheefe of

[1] "Mr. Prence was not again elected chief magistrate till the year of Governor Bradford's decease, in 1657. He was then chosen, and continued in that office by renewed election for sixteen consecutive years, till his death in 1673. He was then succeeded by Josiah Winslow." DEANE.

His election presented a problem which the Colony Records (I. 79) thus described: "Whereas Mr. Thomas Prince is this Court elected Gouernor, and in regard of an act of the Court [passed October 28, 1633,] requiring his residency and gouerment to be held at Plymouth, and that Mr. Prince was very vnwilling, and refused to vndergoe the same, yet takeing the same into further consideracon, was willing (at the request of the Court) to condiscend therevnto, vpon two condicons, which were these; first, that Mr. Bradford would still continue Gouernor vntill Mr. Prince could prouide himself in some measure fitt for the place, wherevnto Mr. Bradford condiscended, so that it might not be longer then the next quarterly Court; and the second condicon was, that the Court would dispence with the said act, and that he might reside at Duxborrow, (if without manefest detryment he cannot remooue to Plymouth,) the which he promiseth to doe if possibly he cann, and in the meane season to keepe his Quarterly Courts at Plymouth, wherevnto the Court did consent, laying aside the force of the said act for this present, but not to be a president for tyme to come." All existing officers were continued in place until the next Court.

[2] Roger Williams was told the four consisted of Arthur Peach, an Irishman, John Barnes his man, and two others, "come from Pascataquack, travelling to Qunnihticut." 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, I. 170.

Stinnings escaped to Pascataqua. "The governor sent after him, but those of Pascataquack conveyed him away and openly withstood his apprehension. It was their usual manner (some of them) to countenance, etc. all such lewd persons as fled from us." Winthrop, *History*, I. *269. In 1635 Stinnings had put himself apprentice

them, and the ring leader of all the rest. He was a lustie and a desperate yonge man, and had been one of the souldiers in the Pequente warr, and had done as good servise as the most ther, and one of the forwardest in any attempte. And being now out of means, and loath to worke, and falling to idle courses and company, he intended to goe to the Dutch plantation; and had alured these ·3·, being other mens servants and apprentices, to goe with him. But another cause ther was allso of his secret going away in this maner; he was not only rune into debte, but he had gott a maid with child, (which was not known till after his death,) a mans servante in the towne, and fear of punishmente made him gett away. The other ·3· complotting with him, ranne away from their maisters in the night, and could not be heard of, for they went not the ordinarie way, but shaped shuch a course as they thought to avoyd the pursute of any [228]. But falling into the way that lyeth betweene the Bay of Massachusetts and the Narrigansets,[1] and being disposed to rest them selves, struck fire, and took tobaco, a litle out of the way, by the way side. At length ther came an Narigansett Indean [2] by, who had been in the Bay a trading, and had both cloth and beads aboute him. (They had meett him the day before, and he was now returning.) Peach called him to drinke tobaco with them, and he came and sate downe with them. Peach tould the other he would kill him, and take what he had from him. But they were some thing afraid; but he said, Hang him, rogue, he had killed many of them. So they let him alone to doe as he would; and when he saw his time, he tooke a rapier and rane him through the body once or twise, and tooke from him ·5· fathume of wampam, and ·3· coats of cloath, and wente their way, leaving him for

to Robert Bartlett for nine years, to receive at the termination of his service two suits of apparel and three pounds in money or other merchantable commodity. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 35.

[1] The name of the place was Misquamsqueece.

[2] His name, as given in the Colony Records, was Penowanyanquis.

dead.[1] But he scrabled away, when they were gone, and made shift to gett home, (but dyed within a few days after,) by which means they were discovered; and by subtilty the Indeans

[1] The native had taken three beaver skins and beads for Canonicus, and was returning home with five fathoms of wampum and three coats. He was found groaning in the path by some Indians. Williams and two or three others went to where he lay in the woods. The Indians were at first shy, conceiving a general slaughter, a fear which was soon dispelled. The wounded man was taken to Providence where he was attended by Thomas James, a physician, and John Green, a surgeon, who, however, could not save his life. He implicated more of the party than Peach. "Sitting in the side of a swamp a little way out of the path, (I went to see the place, fit for an evil purpose,) Arthur called him to drink tobacco, who coming and taking the pipe of Arthur, Arthur run him through the leg into the belly, when, springing back, he, Arthur, made the second thrust, but mist him; that another of them struck at him, but mist him, and his weapon run into the ground; that getting from them a little way into the swamp, they pursued him, till he fell down, when they mist him, and getting up again, when he heard them close by him, he run to and again in the swamp, till he fell down again, when they lost him quite; afterwards, towards night, he came and lay in the path, that some passenger might help him as aforesaid." *Williams to Winthrop*, [August, 1638.] 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, I. 172.

Williams had received information from an Indian, of four almost famished Englishmen being at Pawatuckgut, "a river four miles from us toward the bay." Sending provision and strong water he invited them to come to him, but they pleading soreness from travelling, desired to rest where they were. They claimed to be on their way to Connecticut, and had been lost for five days. At daybreak on the following morning they came to Williams, "relating that the old man at Pawatucket had put them forth the last night, because that some Indians said, that they had hurt an Englishman, and therefore that they lay between us and Pawatucket." They also said "that they came from Plymouth on the last of the week in the evening, and lay still in the woods the Lord's day, and then lost their way to Weymouth, from whence they lost their way again towards us, and came in again six miles off Pawatuckgut." Otherwise occupied, Williams inquired no further; but after the four men were gone, he had tidings from an Indian of the murder which had been committed.

Williams sent messengers to arrest the four, and it was learned they had passed through Nanhiggontick, showing Miantunomo the letters of Roger Williams, and, proceeding to Aquidneck, were there taken. He thought they should be tried where taken, or if sent anywhere, to Plymouth, and applied to Winthrop for guidance. The governor replied, that "seeing they were of Plymouth, they should certify Plymouth of them, and if they would send for them, to deliver them; otherwise, seeing no English had jurisdiction in the place where the murder was committed, neither had they at the island any government established, it would be safest to deliver the principal,

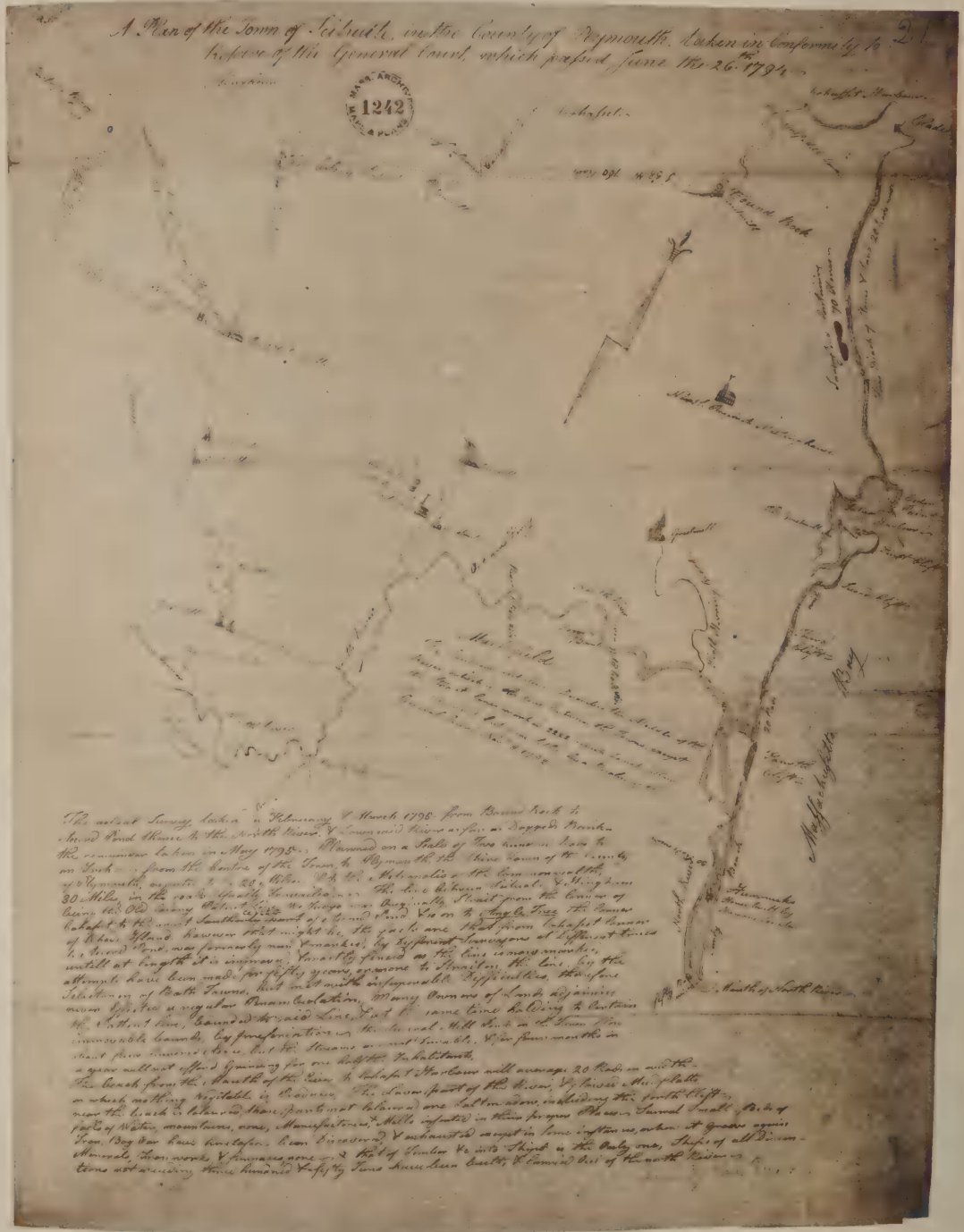
tooke them. For they desiring a canow to sett them over a water, (not thinking their facte had been known,) by the sachems command they were carried to Aquidnett Iland, and ther accused of the murder, and were exam[in]ed and comitted upon it by the English ther. The Indeans sent for Mr. Williams, and made a greeveous complainte; his freinds and kinred were ready to rise in armes, and provock the rest therunto, some conceiving they should now find the Pequents words trew: that the English would fall upon them. But Mr. Williams pacified them, and tould them they should see justice done upon the offenders; and wente to the man, and tooke Mr. James, a phisition, with him. The man tould him who did it, and in what maner it was done; but the phisition found his wounds mortall, and that he could not live, (as he after testified upon othe, before the jurie in oppen courte,) and so he dyed shortly after, as

Tho: James.

who was certainly known to have killed the party, to the Indians his friends." Winthrop, I. *267.

From the natives Williams obtained some interesting news. "The natiues, frends of the slaine had consultacion to kill an English man in revenge: Miantunnomu heard of it, and desired that the English would be carefull on the high wayes, and sent himselfe expresse threatnings to them, etc. and informed them that Mr. Governour would see justice done. Ousamequin comming from Plymmouth told me that the four men were all guiltie; I answered but one; he replied true, one wounded him, but all lay in wait two dayes, and assisted. In conclusion: he tould me that the principall must not dye, for he was Mr. Winslowes man: and allso that the man [Indian] was by birth a Neepmuck man; so not worthy an other man should die for him: I answered what I thought fit, but conceave there will be neede of wisedome and zeale in some, and remembrance of that *Vox Cœli:* He that doth violence to the blood of any person, let him flee to the pit: let none deliver [stay] him." [Prov. xxviii. 17.] *Williams to Winthrop*, August 14, 1638. 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, vi. 249.

"I was once with a *Native* dying of a wound, given him by some murtherous *English*, who rob'd him and run him through with a Rapier, from whom in the heat of his wound, he at present escaped from them, but dying of his wound, they suffered Death at New *Plymouth*, in *New-England*, this *Native* dying call'd much upon *Muckquachuckquand*, which of other *Natives* I understood (as they believed) had appeared to the dying young man, many yeares before, and bid him when ever he was in distresse call upon him." Williams, *Key into the Language of America* (Narragansett Club), 149. The word means "the children's God."



SCITUATE, 1794.

both Mr. Williams, Mr. James, and some Indeans testified in courte. The Gov[ernment] in the Bay were aquented with it, but refferrd it hither, because it was done in this jurissdiction;[1] but pressed by all means that justice might be done in it; or els the countrie must rise and see justice done, otherwise it would raise a warr. Yet some of the rude and ignorante sorte murmured that any

[1] And yet afterwards they laid claime to those parts in this controversie about Seacunk. — BRADFORD.

In a letter, the date of which is conjectured to have been November 10, 1637, Roger Williams writes of an intended settlement near him [Providence] under the lead of Benjamin Hubbard, of Charlestown. "On the Narragansett side," Williams continued, "the natives are populous, on the side to Massachusetward Plymouth men challenge, so that I presume if they come to the place where first I was, Plymouth will call them theirs." 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 219. A deposition by John Hassell, in 1642, would indicate that Williams purchased the land at Seekonk of Ousamequin, and held it for Hubbard. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, II. 49. Williams, however, could not have had any doubt upon the conduct New Plymouth would pursue. Early in the previous year, when he had fled from the Bay, he stopped at Seekonk, and even claimed to have purchased it at that time from Ousamequin. But Governor Winslow, learning of his presence, wrote in the name of the Plymouth government, claiming Seekonk to be in their jurisdiction, "as also their advice to remove but over the river unto this side, (where now, by God's merciful providence we are,) and then I should be out of their claim, and be as free as themselves, and loving neighbours together." *Testimony*, December 13. 1661. Narragansett Club, VI. 316. In 1641 certain inhabitants of Seekonk applied to be accepted by the government of Massachusetts Bay. The General Court of that plantation agreed on June 2 to accept the tender, "if it fall not in Plimouth patent," and sent James Parker to Plymouth to view the patent, "and that clause in writing which concerned the bounds from Narragansetts Bay to the vtmost parts and limits of the country called Pockanockett, in regard the Bay men would have had Sicquncke from us." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, II. 22. It does not appear what report, if any, Parker made to his government. After three years the petitioners turned to Plymouth and applied to be taken under its jurisdiction. Thereupon Massachusetts claiming to have been tender of the Plymouth claim to full jurisdiction, declared "that this Court doth esteem and repute Seacunck plantation in this iurisdiction, and that the inhabitants thereof are subjects to this government: provided if our friends at Plimoth or the inhabitants of Seacunck shall doubt of the equity hereof, we shalbe content to refer the resolution of the question to the commissioners for the United Colonies." It would appear that both parties appealed to the Commissioners and the decision was wholly in favor of Plymouth. *Mass. Col. Rec.*, II. 68; *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 28.

English should be put to death for the Indeans. So at last they of the iland brought them hither, and being often examened, and the evidence prodused, they all in the end freely confessed in effect all that the Indean accused them of, and that they had done it, in the maner afforesaid; and so, upon the forementioned evidence, were cast by the jurie,[1] and condemned, and executed for the same. Sept[ember] 4.[2] And some of the Narigansett Indeans, and of the parties freinds, were presente when it was done, which gave them and all the countrie good satisfaction. But it was a matter of much sadnes to them hear, and was the ·2· execution which they had since they came;[3] being both for willfull murder, as hath bene before related. Thus much of this mater. [229]

They received this year more letters from England full of reneued complaints, one the one side, that they could gett no money nor accounte from Mr. Sherley; and he againe, that he was pressed therto, saying he was to accounte with those hear, and not with them, etc. So, as was before resolved, if nothing came of their last letters, they would now send them what they could, as supposing, when some good parte was payed them, that Mr. Sherley and they would more easily agree aboute the remainder.

So they sent to Mr. Andrews and Mr. Beachamp, by Mr. Joseph Yonge,[4] in the Mary and Anne, 1325*li.* waight of beaver, devided betweene them. Mr. Beachamp returned an accounte of his moyety, that he made 400*li.* starling of it, fraight and all charges paid. But Mr. Andrews, though he had the more and beter parte, yet he made not so much of his, through his owne indiscretion; and yet turned the loss[5] upon them hear, but without cause.

[1] The names of the jurymen and the form of sentence are given in *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 96.

[2] This date is written in the margin.

[3] The first execution was that of John Billington, p. 111, *supra*.

[4] In July, 1635, the *Love*, Joseph Young, master, sailed for New England. The names of her six passengers are in *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XIV. 322.

[5] Being about 40*li.* — BRADFORD.

They sent them more by bills and other paimente, which was received and acknowledged by them, in money [1] and the like; which was for katle sould of Mr. Allertons, and the price of a bark sold, which belonged to the stock, and made over to them in money, 434*li.* sterling. The whole sume was 1234*li.* sterling, save what Mr. Andrews lost in the beaver, which was otherwise made good. But yet this did not stay their clamors, as will apeare here after more at large.

It pleased God, in these times, so to blesse the cuntry with shuch access and confluance of people into it, as it was therby much inriched, and catle of all kinds stood at a high rate for diverce years togeather. Kine were sould at 20*li.* and some at 25*li.* a peece, yea, some times at 28*li.* A cow-calfe usually at 10*li.* A milch goate at 3*li.* and some at 4*li.* And femall kids at 30*s.* and often at 40*s.* a peece. By which means the anciente planters which had any stock begane to grow in their estates. Corne also wente at a round rate, viz. 6*s.* a bushell.[2] So as other trading begane to be neglected; and the old partners (having now forbidden Mr. Sherley to send them any more goods) broke of their trade at Kenebeck, and, as things stood, would follow it no longer.[3] But some of them, (with other

[1] And devided betweene them. — BRADFORD.

[2] Writing from Richmond Island in June, 1638, Richard Gibson said: "Corne thriues not in the ground. Like to be a deare yeare." In July Winter refers to the little expectation he had of corne, but attributes it to the fact that "our husbandmen proue all so bad." In this he was not disappointed, for he estimated late in August that he would have only some six hogsheads of corn from fourteen acres, and so late had the seed come up, that it might not ripen at all. *Trelawny Papers*, 128, 136, 146. Winthrop notes a severe winter and a late spring, and adds "the spring was so cold, that men were forced to plant their corn two or three times, for it rotted in the ground; but, when we feared a great dearth, God sent a warm season, which brought on corn beyond expectation." *History*, I. *265. The more northerly settlements sent to the Bay to buy corn, which explains the high price ruling at Plymouth.

[3] In Massachusetts Bay trade with the Indians was regulated by the King's proclamation of 1622 (vol. I. p. 313), but the practice does not point to a rigid monopoly exercised under the government. The rates at which beaver could pass or be sold were determined by law, and a tax for revenue was imposed upon it. This tax

they joyned with,) being loath it should be lost by discontinuance, agreed with the company for it, and gave them aboute the ·6· parte of their gaines for it; [130, *i.e.* 230] with the first fruits of which they builte a house for a prison; and the trade ther hath been since continued, to the great benefite of the place; for some well fore-

the Court repealed in March, 1635, while the monopoly framed in England is supposed to have been in force. In September, 1636, it was proposed to erect a state monopoly and to farm it out for a period of three years, to correct the evils and dangers attending an irregular trade between English and Indians. As Massachusetts did not depend upon furs for its trade or revenue to the same extent as New Plymouth, the subject did not attain to so great importance; nor is it possible to measure how far the comparative freedom under the Bay affected the monopoly at New Plymouth. The latter drew their chief supplies from the Kennebec, Penobscot and Connecticut stations. Now that the French had deprived them of one of their northern posts, and the Bay emigrants had put an end to their trade on the Connecticut, it became necessary to open new avenues, if, indeed, any such could be found.

In March, 1637, the General Court of Plymouth resolved: "Concerning the trade of beaver, corne, and beads, etc., with the Indians, it is agreed, by the consent of the Court, that they that now haue that shall hold yt vntill the next Court, the beginning of June; and then further conference to be had for the mannageing thereof, that such further course may be taken therein as shalbe thought fitt. And in the meane season, Mr. [Stephen] Hopkins, Mr. [John] Atwood, Mr. [John] Done, and Jonathan Brewster shalbe added to the Gouerner and Assistants, to aduise vpon such proposic̃ons and wayes so as the said trade may be still continued to the benefit of the collony."

At the June session some action was taken, but in such a form that the actual measure adopted cannot be learned, though the trade still remained in the hands of Bradford and his partners. "Whereas the trade of beauer, etc., is now likely to goe to decay, in regard that they which haue had it will not any longer hold yt, the Court hath referred it to the Gouernor and Assistants to advise and consider of a way and course how the said trade may be vpholden for the good of the whole collony; and for the better advisement therein haue joyned to the Gouernor and Assistants Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Atwood, Mr. Done, Thomas Willet, and John Winslow for Plymouth, Mr. John Howland and Jonathan Brewster for Ducksborrow, and Josias Winslow for Scituate; and what way and course they shall agree and conclude vpon, the whole colony doth consent vnto." The inclusion of Thomas Willet may be noted, as he had, with two others, been recently fined for trading with the Indians for corn, "contrary to the auncient lawes of this colony." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XI. 33; I. 50, 54, 62. The subject received renewed attention in 1639 (p. 314, *infra*).

sawe that these high prises of corne and catle would not long continue, and that then the commodities ther raised would be much missed.

This year, aboute the ·1· or ·2· of June,[1] was a great and fearfull earthquake; it was in this place heard before it was felte. It came with a rumbling noyse, or low murmure, like unto remoate thunder; it came from the norward, and pased southward. As the noyse aproched nerer, they earth begane to shake, and came at length with that violence as caused platters, dishes, and shuch like things as stoode upon shelves, to clatter and fall downe; yea, persons were afraid of the houses them selves. It so fell oute that at the same time diverse of the cheefe of this towne were mett together at one house, conferring with some of their freinds that were upon their removall from the place,[2] (as if the Lord would herby shew the

[1] Winthrop enters the earthquake under June 1, and he is supported by the church records of Newbury. It made itself felt at Connecticut, Narragansett and at Pascataqua. Light shocks followed for some months after.

[2] The bounds of a growing settlement like that of Plymouth were difficult to mark, even for administrative matters. In 1638 a question of the extent of the town of Plymouth arose. James Sherley had given some head of cattle to the town, on condition that the increase should be used for the aid of the poor of the town. He "had playnely declared by severall letters in his owne hand writing that his intent therein was wholly to the poore of the Town of New Plymouth wordes of the said letters recorded it doth most playnely appear." To determine the question a meeting of townsmen was called on July 16, 1638, all the inhabitants from Jones River to the Eel River being summoned. The record then says: "And whereas there was some difference how farr the Towne of New Plymouth doth now properly extend because some have extended the same as farr as betwixt the said Rivers in regard the constablery and liberties of the said Towne extend themselves so farr yet after much agitation and allegations made It was concluded that the Inhabitants of the said Towne of New Plymouth dwelling betwixt the houses of William Pontus and John Dunham on the south and the outside of the new streete on the north side have power to order and dispose of the said stock of cowes so given as aforesaid And have thereupon nominated and appointed Thomas Prence gent Gov'r William Bradford and Edward Winslow gent and Assistants of the Government, Stephen [Bryant or Doane] John Done [Doane] and Thomas Willett gent and John Dunhame to have the power and authoritie for these foure next years to put forth and dispose the said stock of cowes to the Inhabitants of the poore of the said Towne of Plymouth as shalbe thought fitt

signes of his displeasure, in their shaking a peeces and removalls one from an other.) How ever it was very terrible for the time, and as the men were set talking in the house, some women and others were without the dores, and the earth shooke with that violence as they could not stand without catching hould of the posts and pails that stood next them; but the violence lasted not long. And about halfe an hower, or less, came an other noyse and shaking, but

to partake therein, and by such in their Judgment and discretion shalbe thought meete and according to the mind of the Donor in his foresaid letters declared And also by way of curtesye to supply the wants of some others which doe inhabite within the liberties of said Towne if they shall thinke fitt."

This was the first organized charity on New England soil, and the records contain a statement by the administrators of the trust for this same year, and also for 1642 and 1652. The returns prove the good management of the trustees. That for July, 1638, was as follows:

"The stock at this tyme was thus disposed.

John Shawe — foure shares } in the pyde cowe
Francis Billington sixe shares } which was Good-
Mrs. Hodgkinson two shares } man Shawes.

Mr. John Holmes sixe shares } in the browne
Mr. Thomas Hill foure shares } back cowe was
Ralph Wallen two shares } at Georg Soules.

Josuah Pratt foure shares } in the black heiffer
Thom Atkinson foure shares } which was Henry
Samuell Eddy foure shares } Howlande.

Mr. Raph Smith six shares } In the Red cow which
Natha'll Sowther six shares } was Mr. Smyths.

Mr. Hellot six shares } In the browne back cowe
Thom Lettice six shares } which came from Henry Howland.

There remayned more to the stock at the same tyme
Two steers in goodman Dunhams hands.
One red steere in goodman Shawes hands.
One browne steere in Mr. Smyths hands and a bull calf.
One bull calfe in George Soules hand.
One cowe calf which came from Henry Howland
One old cowe in goodman Dunhams hands
In money due to the stock £4. 10s.

The cow calfe was put to Goodman Dunhame for as long as the farm cowes are and a yeare longer upon the same conditions that the cows are." *Records of the Town of Plymouth*, 1. 3. The report for 1642 is even more full, *Ib.* 9.

nether so loud nor strong as the former, but quickly passed over; and so it ceased. It was not only on the sea coast, but the Indeans felt it within land; and some ships that were upon coast were shaken by it.[1] So powerfull is the mighty hand of the Lord, as to make both the earth and sea to shake, and the mountaines to tremble before him, when he pleases; and who can stay his hand? It was observed that the sommers, for divers years togeather after this earthquake, were not so hotte and seasonable for the ripning of corne and other fruits as formerly;[2] but more could and moyst, and subjecte to erly and untimly frosts, by which, many times, much Indean corne came not to maturitie; but whether this was any cause, I leave it to naturallists to judge.

[1] Roger Williams reported from Providence the late "dreadful voice and hand" of the Most High, "that audible and sensible voice, the Earthquake. All these parts felt it, (whether beyond the Narragansett I yet learn not), for myself I scarce perceived ought but a kind of thunder and a gentle moving, etc., and yet it was no more this way to many of our own and the natives apprehensions, and but one sudden short motion. The younger natives are ignorant of the like: but the elder inform me that this is the fifth within these four score years in the land: the first about three score and ten years since: the second some three score and four years since, the third some fifty-four years since, the fourth some forty-six since: and they always observed either plague or pox or some other epidemical disease followed; three, four or five years after the Earthquake, (or Naunaumemoauke, as they speak). He be mercifully pleased himself to interpret and open his own riddles, and grant, if it be pleasing in his eyes, it may not be for destruction, and but (as the Earthquake before the Jailor's conversion) a means of shaking and turning of all hearts, (which are his,) English or Indian, to him. To further this (if the Lord please) the Earthquake sensibly took about a thousand of the natives in a most solemn meeting for play, etc." *To Winthrop*, [June, 1638,] Narragansett Club, VI. 99.

[2] "Heare hath bin a great drieth this sommer, which hath kept backe the Corne much, both English and Indian, and how our Corne will proue yett I Cannot well advize you. . . . God send a good harvest. Yt is yett very far backward, and so yt is generally throughout the land, as I heare." *Winter to Trelawny*, June 20, 1639. "Our Indian Corne well sett with yeares but very greene; I much doubt yt will not be ripe this yeare. Most men say their English graine yelds bad this yeare; the[y] all say yt was because the sommer proved so dry at the first sowinge." *Ib.* September 17, 1639, *Trelawny Papers*, 156, 200.

Anno Dom: · 1639 · *and* Anno Dom: · 1640 ·[1]

THESE · 2 · years I joyne togeather, because in them fell not out many things more then the ordinary passages of their commone affaires, which are not needfull to be touched. [231] Those of this plantation having at sundrie times

[1] Governor Bradford was reëlected to the chief-magistracy of the colony, and again in 1640. Since 1632 the penalty for refusing to serve as Governor, after due election, was £20; but it was also provided that "in case one and the same person should be elected Governour a second yeare, having held the place the foregoing yeare, it should be lawfull for him to refuse without any amercement; and the company to proceed to a new election, except they can prevaile with him by entreaty." This latter exemption was repealed in 1639, and the penalty was abolished in 1645. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 5. With the exception of the year 1644, when Edward Winslow was chosen, Bradford was continued in office by reëlection till his death, in 1657. No election was held in 1649, because "things are mutch vnseteled in our natiue cuntry in regard of the affairs of the state, whereby the Court cannot so clearly prosseed in election, as formerly." All officers were continued in office for a year. *Ib.* II. 139.

The Assistants in these two years were:

1639.	1640.
Thomas Prence	Thomas Prence
Myles Standish	William Collier
John Alden	Myles Standish
John Brown	Timothy Hatherley
William Collier	John Jenny
Timothy Hatherley	John Brown
John Jenny	Edmund Freeman. — *Ib.* I. 125, 154.

Recourse was had to a new system — that of representative government — in the election of 1639. In place of all the freemen meeting in General Court each town, except Plymouth, which had four deputies, elected two committee men or deputies to represent it. As five towns were thus represented — Duxbury, Scituate, Sandwich, Cohannet [Taunton] and Yarmouth — the new body contained fourteen deputies; to which number two were added in December from Barnstable. Two years later the system was extended to include Rexhame [Marshfield], and in 1646 Rehoboth and Nauset. The two last named towns do not appear, however, to have

granted lands for severall townships,[1] and amongst the rest to the inhabitants of Sityate, some wherof issewed from them selves, and allso a large tracte of land was given to their ·4· London partners in

exercised their right until the following year. So that in 1648, the last year of this history, the body of deputies contained twenty-two representatives from ten towns, Plymouth still having a representation double that of other towns. Chalmers called the earlier plan, of all freemen constituting the legislature, as in the true spirit of Rousseau, and he believed the people enslaved themselves by establishing a house of representatives composed of deputies from the several towns. The criticism emanates from an upholder of the divine right of kings.

[1] The scattering of the population raised some unexpected questions, and among them one that concerned the use of farms, at a distance from a place of worship. The problem is stated in the letter from Reyner and Brewster, probably addressed to Rev. John Cotton, of which the following is a copy:

"REVEREND AND WELBELOVED IN OUR COMMON SAVIOR. The Lord haueing called you with vs in the fellowship of the Gospell to mutuall helpfullness in the Lord as occasion is ministred we craue your serious thoughts and resolucons in some questions on foote among us concerneing the holding of farmes of which there is noe lesse frequent vse with your selues then with vs. The particulers we desire to commend to your serious consideration are these.

"1. Whether in those parts especially in some places, and where people haue continued for some space of tyme it be not needfull for the comfortable and welbeing euen of the churches that places for husbandry be made use of though distant from the place of a mans habitacon and of the churches assembling three or foure miles or there abouts.

"2. Seing by meanes of such farmes a mans famylie is Diuided so that in busie tymes they cannot (except vpon the Lords day) all of them joyne with him in famylie duties whether to make use of them because of the forenamed needfulnes be not to doe evell that good may come of yt.

"3. Whether a master in the absence of some part of his famylie by occasion of his farm may not lawfully appoynt a son or servant, who is in some measure fited to performe Duties among them in his absence? or whether such a one be not as a substitute to a church officer in his non-residencie?

"4. Whether a man not haueing wherewith to mayntaine his stocke estate and place the Lord hath called him in, neare hand may vndertake and retaine such a farme abroad as abouesaid, when for the present hee wants and cannot procure such a servant in his famyly as may be helpfull there with the rest of his servants by prayer and instruccon?

"It is presupposed and provided in all those cases that such servants or others as on the weeke day are employed abroad at farmes doe report duly before the Lords Day to the famylies they belong too and continue there till the second Day, except

that place, viz. Mr. Sherley, Mr. Beacham, Mr. Andrews, and Mr. Hatherley. At Mr. Hatherley's request and choys it was by him taken for him selfe and them in that place; for the other ·3· had invested him with power and trust to chose for them. And this tracte of land extended to their utmost limets that way, and bordered on their neigbours of the Massachusets, who had some years after seated a towne (called Hingam) [1] on their lands next to these parts. So as now ther grue great difference betweene these ·2· townships, about their bounds, and some meadow grownds that lay between them.[2] They of Hingam presumed to alotte parte of

some one whoe is necessaryly Detayned there, though not usually from the publike assemblies.

"Some of us after agitacon of these things remayneing Darke and Doubtfull in them, if you shall by imparting to us what light you haue receiued concerneing them from the true light be meanes of guideing our feete in the wayes of truth and peace, we shall haue occasion hereby ministered of returneing thanks to the father of lighte in your behalfe. Now the Lord himselfe give vs with you vnderstanding in all things through him whoe is the way, the truth and the life. Farewell.

"Yours in the faith and fellowshippe of the Gospell

"John Reyner. Wm. Brewster.

"Plymouth moneth 6th the 5th day 1639." *From the Cotton Papers*, in the Boston Public Library.

[1] Originally called Barecove or Bearcove.

[2] On July 1, 1633, the General Court adopted a resolution, that "the whole tract of land between the brooke at Scituate, on the norwest side, and Conahasset be left undisposed of till we know the resolucon of Mr. James Sherley, Mr. John Beauchamp, Mr. Richard Andrews, and Mr. Timothy Hatherly, as also that portion of land lately made choice of by Mr. Hatherly aforesaid." The grant was duly accepted in 1637, and the lines were run in the following year. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 13, 68, 80. The adjustment was not in all respects satisfactory, and did not prove final. Some settlers had already come upon the land. Controversies arose, and continued for years. The settlement at Scituate, meanwhile, increased, and a church was there gathered in 1635, under the pastorate of John Lothrop. One year later Hatherley, a resident of Scituate, complained that the place was "too straite for them, the landes adjacent being stoney, and not convenient to plant upon." *Ib.* XI. 25.

In May, 1637, Hatherley was, with three others, appointed by the General Courts of the two plantations to "veiwe the bounds betweene vs and Plimoth, and make returne how they find them lye to both courts." Two of these commissioners, Hatherley and Nathaniel Tilden, were of Scituate, and two, William Aspinwall and Joseph

them to their people, and measure and stack them out. The other pulled up their stacks, and threw them. So it grew to a controversie betweene the ·2· goverments, and many letters and passages were betweene them aboute it; and it hunge some ·2· years in suspense. The Courte of Massachusets appointed some to range their line according to the bounds of their patente, and (as they wente to worke) they made it to take in all Sityate, and I know not how much more. Againe, on the other hand, according to the line of the patente of this place, it would take in Hingame and much more within their bounds.

In the end boath Courts agreed to chose ·2· comissioners of each side, and to give them full and absolute power to agree and setle the bounds betwene them; and what they should doe in the case should stand irrevocably. One meeting they had at Hingam, but could not conclude; for their comissioners stoode stiffly on a clawes in their graunte, that from Charles-river, or any branch or parte therof, they were to extend their limits, and ·3· myles further to the southward; or from the most southward parte of the Massachusets Bay,

Andrews, were of the Bay. Andrews resided at Hingham. *Mass. Col. Rec.*, I. 196. Their report is not to be found, but Winthrop and Bradford said they did not come to an agreement.

In April, 1638, Bradford laid before Winthrop the complaints of the Scituate settlers, that their lands were being taken by their neighbors of Hingham, a clear violation of their rights, which rested upon purchase from the Indians, a patent issued by the King's authority, and actual occupation and planting on the territory. *Bradford to Winthrop*, April 11, 1638. Winthrop replied that an effort had been made to set bounds that would be satisfactory to Hatherley; and, failing in that, Winslow was seen who answered "that what our Patent gave us we must have, and it was all one to them whither Scituate fell to them or to us, etc., and aduised us to sett out our boundaries." This Massachusetts did, but refrained from final action. When Bradford demanded a reason for the act, Winthrop replied that he saw no need of giving a reason. He had never before heard of the purchase from the Indians, and he knew that the king did not confirm Indian grants. The Bay grant could easily have been enlarged to cover the disputed lands, and as for Hatherley's company "we thought it were better for us bothe, if they were further off." They did not intend to advance that company's interest without advising with Plymouth, and they looked for the like courtesy from Plymouth. 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 157.

and ·3· mile further. But they chose to stand on the former termes, for they had found a smale river, or brooke rather, that a great way with in land trended southward, and issued into some part of that river taken to be Charles-river, and from the most southerly part of this, and ·3· mile more southward of the same, they would rune a line east to the sea, aboute ·20· mile; which will (say they) take in a part of Plimoth it selfe. Now it is to be knowne that though this patente and plantation were much the ancienter, yet this inlargemente of the same (in which Sityate stood) was granted after theirs, and so theirs were first to take place, before this inlargmente.[1] Now their answer was, first, that, however according to their owne

[1] The General Court of Massachusetts Bay appointed other commissioners in March, 1639, naming John Endecott and Israel Stoughton to "meete with our brethren of Plimoth, and to agree with them about the bounds, if they see cause." *Mass. Col. Rec.*, I. 254. In June Plymouth appointed on her part William Bradford and Edward Winslow, to settle controversy over the boundary line, and for the "continuance and mayntenance of the auncient loue and amytie wee, the said inhabitants of the government of New Plymouth, haue alwayes most zealously desired to hold, obserue and keepe with our neighboures, the inhabitants of the said Massachusetts Bay." Their commission is given in full in *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 127. Before this action had been taken by Plymouth, the Court of Massachusetts Bay came to the relief of the Hingham settlers, but at the expense, in whole or in part, of those of Scituate. "Whereas this Court did take order for a meeting to bee had betweene our commissioners and our neighbors of Plimoth, for seting out the bounds between vs, and that nothing hath bene done therein, in regard that their commissioners had not power to conclude any thing, and for that it appeareth vnto this Court, that our people of Hingham stande in great neede of hay, it is ordered, that they may make vse of so much of the ground neare Conihassett as lye on this side the ryver, wherevpon the bridge is, (which lands are vndoubtedly within the limits of our grant,) vntill some further order bee taken for a finall determination of the difference betweene vs, and till the Court shall make other disposition thereof." *Mass. Col. Rec.*, I. 257. The commissioners settled the line as follows: "from the mouth of the brooke that runeth into Conihasset marshes, in a straight line to the middle of" Accord Pond. Deane, *History of Scituate*, 3 ; p. 281, *infra.* This determination satisfied neither party in the dispute, as each had granted lands claimed by the other, and a new commission was named in 1656, William Torrey and Richard Brackett for Massachusetts, and Josiah Winslow for New Plymouth. The dispute concerned some sixty acres of marsh lands. The decision was confirmed, and brought to a conclusion a troublesome question.

plan, they could noway come upon any part of their ancieante grante. [232] 2*ly*. They could never prove that to be a parte of Charles-river, for they knew not which was Charles-river, but as the people of this place, which came first, imposed shuch a name upon that river, upon which, since, Charles-towne is builte (supposing that was it, which Captaine Smith in his mapp so named). Now they that first named it have best reason to know it, and to explaine which is it. But they only tooke it to be Charles river, as fare as it was by them navigated, and that was as farr as a boate could goe. But that every runlett or small brooke, that should, farr within land, come into it, or mixe their stremes with it, and were by the natives called by other and differente names from it, should now by them be made Charels-river, or parts of it, they saw no reason for it. And gave instance in Humber, in Old England, which had the Trente, Ouse, and many others of lesser note fell into it, and yet were not counted parts of it; and many smaler rivers and broks fell into the Trente, and Ouse, and no parts of them, but had names aparte, and divissions and nominations of them selves.[1] Againe, it was pleaded that they had no east line in their patente, but were to begine at the sea, and goe west by a line, etc. At this meeting no conclution was made, but things discussed and well prepared for an issue. The *next year* the same commissioners had

[1] This information was local, for only a resident of one of the three counties on these rivers — Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire or Lincolnshire — would have cited it. The Ouse and the Trent both empty into the Humber. "The Trent lies well over towards the eastern side of this valley, skirting the western base of the hills. Its sluggish tributaries, the Idle and the Ryton, extend southward and westward; the former towards Nottingham and Newstead Abbey, the latter enriching itself from the springs of the border of the adjacent shire, and emptying into the Idle about six miles south-southeast of the junction of the three counties. The tongue of fenny land in the midst of encompassing moors, formed by the confluence at an acute angle of gently rolling hills within eyeshot on either side, and once admirably situated for hunting — being within easy ride of the famous old Sherwood Forest of Robin Hood, on the south, and of Hatfield Chase, on the north, and itself surrounded by the natural haunts of game — lies in the parish of Scrooby, Notts." Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 215.

their power continued or renewed, and mett at Sityate, and concluded the mater, as followeth.[1]

The agreemente of the bounds betwixte Plimoth and Massachusetts.

Wheras ther were tow comissiones granted by the ·2· jurisdictions, the one of [the] Massach[u]sets Govermente, granted unto John Endecott, gent: and Israell Stoughton, gent: the other of New-Plimoth Govermente, to William Bradford, [Esqr.] Gov[erno]r, and Edward Winslow, gent: and both these for the setting out, setling, and determining of the bounds and limitts of the lands betweene the said jurisdictions, wherby not only this presente age, but the posteritie to come may live peaceably and quietly in that behalfe. And for as much as the said comissioners on both sides have full power so to doe, as appeareth by the records of both jurisdictions; we therfore, the said comissioners above named, doe hearby with one consente and agreemente conclude, detirmine, and by these presents declare, that all the marshes at Conahasett[2] that lye of the one side of the river next to Hingam, shall belong to the jurisdi[c]tion of [the] Massachusetts Plantation; and all the marshes that lye on the other side of the river next to Sityate, shall be long to the jurisdiction of New-Plimoth; excepting ·60· [Three score] acers of marsh at the mouth

[1] This agreement is printed in *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 1. The words in brackets show the variations in language between the two forms. The arrangement of the signatures in the two versions is reversed, those of the Massachusetts Bay commissioners coming first in the copy printed in the *Plymouth Col. Rec.* This shows a recognition of what became the general form and practice in treaties, "to vary the order of naming of the parties, and of the signatures of the plenipotentiaries, in the counterparts of the same treaty so that each party is first named, and its plenipotentiary signs first in the copy possessed and published by itself." *John Quincy Adams to Richard Rush*, November 6, 1817.

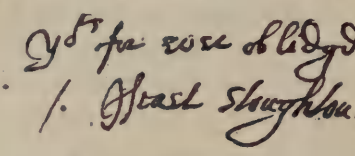
[2] "Conihasset, or Cowasset, is the first station in describing Plymouth patent, being a 'runlet' between Scituate and the well known place Cohasset. Here is a 'gulph or fall of rocks' often mentioned in the records, a little stream coming from a pond, passing over a ledge of rocks of several feet; every tide, however, ascends above it, and flows far into Scituate southerly, over extensive marshes, leaving east of it an high ridge, termed the 'Glades' in Scituate." 2 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IV. 223.

Sanborn Boundary Line of Middletown. 1642.

of the river, on Sityate side next to the sea, which we doe herby agree, conclude, and detirmine shall belong to the jurisdi[c]tion of the Massachusetts. And further, we doe hearby agree, determine, and conclude, that the bounds of the limites betweene both the said jurisdi[c]tions are as followeth, viz. from the mouth of the brook that runeth into Chonahasett marches (which we call by the name of Bound-brooke) with a stright and directe line to the midle of a great ponde, that lyeth on the right hand of the uper path, or commone way, that leadeth betweene Waimoth and Plimoth, close to the path as [233] we goe alonge, which was formerly named (and still we desire may be caled) *Accord pond*, lying aboute five or ·6· myles from Weimoth southerley; and from thence with a straight line to the souther-most part of Charles-river,[1] and ·3· miles southerly, inward into the countrie, according as is expresed in the patente granted by his Ma[jes]tie to the Company of the Massachusetts Plantation. Provided allways and never the less concluded and determined by mutuall agreemente betweene the said comissioners, that if it fall out that the said line from Accord-pond to the sothermost parte of Charles-river, and ·3· myles southerly as is before expresed, [shall] straiten or hinder any parte of any plantation begune by the Gover[nment] of New-Plimoth, or hereafter to be begune within ·10· years after the date of these presents, that then, notwithstanding the said line, it shall be lawfull for the said Gov[ernment] of New-Plimoth to assume on the northerly side of the said line, wher it shall so intrench as afforesaid, so much land as will make up the quantity of eight miles square, to belong to every shuch plantation begune, or to [be] begune as afforesaid; which we agree, determine, and conclude to appertaine and belong to the said Gov[ernment] of New-Plimoth. And wheras the said line, from [the mouth of] the said brooke which runeth into Cho[n]ahassett saltmarshes, called by us Bound-brooke, and the pond called Accord-pond, lyeth nere the lands belonging to the tounships of Sityate and Hingam, we doe therfore hereby determine and conclude, that if any devissions allready made and recorded, by either the said townships [Townes], doe crose the said line, that then it shall stand, and be of force accord-

[1] Which is Charles River may still be questioned. — BRADFORD.

ing to the former intents and purposes of the said townes granting them (the marshes formerly agreed on exepted). And that no towne in either jurisdiction shall hereafter exceede, but containe them selves within the said lines [before] expressed. In witnes wherof we, the comissioners of both [the] jurisdictions, doe by these presents indented set our hands and seales the ninth day of the ·4· month in [the] ·16· year of our soveraine lord, king Charles; and in the year of our Lord, 1640.



WILLIAM BRADFORD, Govr. JO: ENDECOTT.
ED: WINSLOW. ISRAELL STOUGHTON.

Wheras the patente was taken in the name of William Bradford, (as in trust,) and rane in these termes: To him, his heires, and associates and assignes; and now the noumber of free-men being much increased, and diverce tounships established and setled in severall quarters of the govermente, as *Plimoth*, *Duxberie*, *Sityate*, *Tanton*, *Sandwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Barnstable*, *Marchfeeld*, and not longe after, *Seacunke* (called afterward, at the desire of the inhabitants, *Rehoboth*) and *Nawsett*, it was by the Courte desired that William Bradford should make a surrender of the same into their hands. The which he willingly did, in this maner following.[1]

Wheras [the said] William Bradford, and diverce others the first instruments of God in the beginning of this great work of plantation,

[1] This instrument is printed in *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, II. 10, in connection with the General Court of March 2, 1640–41. The words in brackets show the variations in the two versions. Bradford omitted the following preamble:

"Whereas diuers and sondry treaties haue beene in the publike and Generall Courts of New Plymouth, his majestie, our dread soueraigne, Charles, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, etc., concerning the proper right and title of the lands within the bounds and limmitts of his said majestie's letters patents, graunted by the right honorable his majesties counsell for New England, ratifyed by their common seale, and signed by the hand of the Right Hon'ble Earle of Warwick, then president of the said counsell, to William Bradford, his heires, associates, and assignes, bearing date, etc.; and whereas [*as above*]."

OLD COLONY LINE, 1725.

togeather with such as the allordering hand of God in his providence soone added unto them, have been at very great charges to procure the [Said] lands, priviledges, and freedoms from all intangl[e]ments, as may appeare by diverse and sundrie deeds, inlargments of grants, purchases, and[1] payments of debts, etc., by reason wherof the title to the day of these presents [this present] [234] remaineth in the said William Bradford, his heires, associates, and assignes: now, for the better setling of the estate [State] of the said lands [aforesaid] (contained in the grant or pattente),[2] the said William Bradford, and those first instruments termed and called in sondry orders upon publick recorde, The Purchasers, or Old comers;[3] witnes ·2· in [e]spetiall, the one bearing date the ·3· [5] of March, 1639. the other in Des-[ember]: the 1. Anno 1640. wherunto these presents have spetiall relation and agreemente, and wherby they are distinguished from

[1] Not in second version.

[2] The words in parenthesis are not in the second version.

[3] If the entries in *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XI., follow a chronological order, at some time between 1633 and 1636, the question of recognizing the services and sacrifices of those who had borne the privations of the early settlement came before the freemen. The resolution took this form:

"That whereas as well the lands within this patent as the munic̃on etc. was bought by way of purchase by diverse the Inhabitants of new Plymouth and that the said purchasers are possessed but of smale proporc̃ons of land and many of them meane. It is therefore thought meet that the said purchasers shall hold and haue reserved for themselues and their heires so much land in such place and places as they shall judge meete and convenient for themselues and their heires aforesaid.

"That such children as are heer borne and next unto them such as are here brought up under their parents and are come to age of discretion allowed, and want lands for their accommodac̃on be provided for in place convenient before any that either come from England or elsewhere, then to seeke as they are.

"That place and places convenient be reserved for the said purchasers and their heires. They [to] surrender the remainder of the lands to be disposed of within the limits of the letters patent dated to W. B. and his associates, to the Government consisting of the Majestrates and Freemen of this Corporac̃on." These paragraphs have against them in the margin "qr," apparently the mark of a clerk to denote what has been repealed or superseded (p. 16). The next action was taken in a resolution on a question raised by the Great Inquest of March 5, 1638–39, asking "by what vertue and power the Gouernor and Assistants do giue and dispose of lands either to particular persons or Towneshipps and Plantac̃ons." The question put an end to all such grants

other[s] the freemen and inhabitants of the said corporation.[1] Be it knowne unto all men, therfore, by these presents, that the said William Bradford, for him selfe, his heires, together with the said

until it could be examined in public court, and the controversies and differences among individuals and terms over their grants be heard. This resulted in the resolution of March 5, 1639–40, printed below. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 119.

[1] The resolution of March 5, 1639–40, was as follows:

"Whereas vpon a proposic̃on made by the Grand Inquest at the generall Court held the fift day of March 1638 by what vertue and power the Gouernor and Assistants do giue and dispose of lands either to particuler persons or Towneshipps and Plantac̃ons wherevpon euer since there hath beene a Cessac̃on of the graunt of lands to any persons by the Gouernment: And now vpon heareing and debateing the controuersies matters and differences about and concerning the same in the Publike Court And whereas there was a larg summe of money disbursed by those that held the trade, vizt. Mr. Bradford Mr. Prence Captaine Standish and the rest of their partners for thenlargment of the Patent of New Plymouth in New England, In considerac̃on that all controuersies and differences about the same may hereafter cease and determine, whether betwixt the Purchasers, old Commers, Freemen, or others about the same. The Court hath by mutuall assent and consent of all as well purchasers Old Commers as Freemen enacted and concluded that there shalbe three hundred pounds sterling (or so much as shalbe required not exceeding the said sume of three hundred pounds) payd to those that held the trade vizt. Mr. Bradford Mr. Prence Captain Standish and the rest of the partners towards the charge of thenlargement of the said Patent if the same shalbe required out of the personall estates of the said Mr. Bradford, Mr. Prence captain Standish and the rest of the partners which said three hundred pounds or lesser summe shalbe levyed vpon the plantac̃ons by such equall way as shalbe thought meete. And that they Purchasers or old Commers shall make choyce of two or three places for themselues and their heires before the next December Court and that after such choyce made and established All the residue of the lands not formerly graunted forth either to plantac̃ons or particuler persons shalbe assigned and surrendred into the hands of the whole Body of the Freemen to be disposed of either by the whole Body or by such persons as shalbe by the whole Body of Freemen assigned and authorised. And that all lands already graunted either to plantac̃ons or particular persons shall stand and remayne firme to them their heires and assignes for euer to whom they are so giuen and graunted. Prouided that all lands shalbe now free to graunt to such persons as stand in neede in the Plantac̃ons now made saue that there shalbe no more Plantac̃ons erected vntill the Purchasers haue made their choyce as aforesaid. And whatsoeuer shalbe further materiall and requisite in law for the confirmeing and establishing this act and order It shalbe donn by Counsell to the intents and purposes herein contained

purchassers, doe only reserve unto them selves, their heires, and assignes those ·3· tractes of land mentioned in the said resolution, order, and agreemente, bearing date the first [day] of Des[ember,]

and expressed if neede require." Lands in Plymouth and Duxbury were excepted from the restriction upon grants. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XI. 34.

The resolution of December 1, 1640, contains the description of lands as given in the text. In connection with this resolution the *Records* supply a list of the purchasers or old comers. Deane corrects a misapprehension of Judge Davis on the identity of these purchasers. Davis thought the term "purchasers" intended those who united in hiring the trade of the plantation for six years. But Deane shows that these "farmers" of the trade were eight in number, and were known as the "undertakers." With four London associates they conducted the trade for that period, without increasing their number beyond the original twelve. The purchasers, of whom fifty-eight names are given in the list, comprised those who purchased from the Adventurers all their interest in the plantation on the expiration of the term of seven years, imposed in the original articles of agreement (vol. I. pp. 453–457). "All of these names will be found in the list relative to the division of cattle in 1627, with the exception of the names of six persons, who sustained a different relation to the colony, but who, if not interested in the purchase, were thought worthy to have a place in this list." DEANE.

The names are as follows:

Mr. William Bradford,
Mr. Thomas Prence,
Mr. William Brewster,
Mr. Edw. Winslow,
Mr. John Alden,
Mr. John Jenney,
Mr. Isaack Allerton,
Capt. Miles Standish,
Mr. William Collyer,
Mr. John Howland,
Manasseth Kempton,
Francis Cooke,
Jonathan Brewster,
Edward Banges,
Nicholas Snow,
Steven Hopkins,
Thomas Clarke,
Raph Wallen,
William Wright,
Elizabeth Warren, widdow,
Abraham Pearse,
Steeven Tracy,
Joseph Rogers,
John Faunce,
Steeven Deane,
Thomas Cushman,
Roberte Hicks,
Thomas Morton,
Anthony Annable,
Samuell Fuller [Jr.],
Francis Eaton,
William Basset,
Francis Sprague,
The Heires of John Crackstone,
Edward Bumpas,
William Palmer,
Peter Browne,
Henry Sampson,
Experience Mitchell,
Philip Delanoy,

1640. viz. first, from the bounds of Yarmouth ·3· miles to the eastward of Naemschatet, and from sea to sea, crose the [said] neck of land. The ·2· of a place called Acoughcouss [Accouquesse, alias Acockus], which lyeth in the botome of the bay adjoyning to the west-side of Pointe Perill, and ·2· myles to the westerne side of the said river, to an other place called Acushente [Acqussent] river, which entereth at the westerne end of Nacata [Nickatay], and ·2· miles to the eastward therof, and to extend ·8· myles up into the countrie. The ·3· place, from Sowamsett river to Patucket river, (with Cawsumsett[1] neck, which is the cheefe habitation of the Indeans, and reserved for them to dwell upon,) extending into the land ·8· myles through the whole breadth therof.[2] Togeather with shuch other small parcells of

Edward Dotey,
Cutbert Cutbertson,
John Winslow,
John Shaw,
Josuah Pratt,
John Adams,
——— Billington,
Phineas Pratt,
Samuell Fuller,
Clement Briggs,
Moyses Symonson,
George Soule,
Edward Holman, 53,
Mr. James Sherley,
Mr. Beauchampe,
Mr. Andrewes,
Mr. Hatherley,
Mr. William Thomas.*
In all 58.
Plymouth Col. Rec., II. 177.

[1] Among the particular names, employed by the Indians amongst themselves, Roger Williams gives Cawasumseuck, which Trumbull believes to mean the Wampanoags or Pokanokets, whose principal village was Sowams.

[2] A copy of an entry in the "records of Sawoms alias Sawamsett and parts adjacent," attested by Benjamin Viall, clerk, is among the papers in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It reads as follows:

"The Second Agreement of the Proprietors about the Devition of the Lands at Sowoms March 11, 1653.

"It is agreed and concluded by the Company of Partners that are interested at Sawomes that there shall be twenty lots of land layd foarth each lot containing eighty Acres in as convenient a forme as may be, and for the deviding of it we are agreed that every halfe share shall put in a lot and the whole shares shall put in two lots and

* One of the London Adventurers, who came from Yarmouth, England, to New Plymouth in the *Mary Ann*, in 1637, and with his son, Nathaniel, settled in Marshfield. Davis, *Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth*, Part II. 262; *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XIV. 327. Savage, however, gives a different account.

lands as they or any of them are personally possessed of or intressed in, by vertue of any former titles or grante[s] whatsoever.[1] And the said William Bradford doth, by the free and full consente, approbation, and agreemente of the said old-planters, or purchasers, together with the liking, approbation, and acceptation of the other parte of the said corporation, surrender into the hands of the whole courte, consisting of the free-men of this corporation of New-Plimoth, all that other [ther] right and title, power, authority, priviledges, immunities, and freedomes granted in the said letters patents by the said right Hon'ble Counsell for New-England; reserveing his and their

whom ever shall be the first drawn shall have the first choice as his lot comes south, and so the second and third, and the rest successively, and these lots to be as soone as may be after it is soe divided, provided that every whose share shall have twenty Acres alowed them either at the heads of their lots or in such other place as shall be thought meet.

"And as touching the meadows it is agreed that all our meadows shall be laid out into ten acres shares as the former, haveing respect to Quantity and Quallity, and that the whole shares shall chuse three lots on the New meadow neck at one end and shall have other three lots apoynted by the halfe shares on the other side Sawomes River, lying also at one end and togeather in lew of that which was formerly allotted equally to halfe shares and whole shares; and the persons that are made choice of to make these devitions above said are Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. Brown, Capt. Willett and Mr. John Winslow, and Mr. Thomas Clark, or any three of them, and we whose names are under written doe bind ourselves to stand to what they shall doe in the premises above said.

"William Bradford — Josiah Winslow
"Thomas Prence — Resolved White
"John Brown — Thomas Clarke
"Thomas Willett — Myles Standish
"John Winslow — Kenelm Winslow, with the consent of John Adams and for his use."

Miscellaneous Papers, I. (1628–1691), f. 21.

[1] Judge Davis gives the following location of these reserved grants: "The first tract is on Cape Cod, comprehending Eastham, Orleans, Brewster, and it is believed Harwich and Chatham. The second tract is in the present towne of Dartmouth and New Bedford. The third tract was the most valuable, and was not to be quietly enjoyed without a bloody conflict. The description embraces Swanzey and Rehoboth, in Massachusetts, Barrington and Warren, in Rhode Island, and perhaps Bristol." Note in Morton, *New Englands Memoriale*, 405.

personall right of free-men, together with the said old planters aforesaid, excepte the said lands before excepted, declaring the freemen of this [present] corporation togeather with all shuch as shal be legally admitted into the same, his associates. And the said William Bradford, for him, his heiers, and assignes, doe hereby further promise and grant to doe and performe whatsoever further thing or things, acte or actes, which in him lyeth, which shall be needfull and expediente for the better confirming and establishing the said premises, as by counsell lerned in the lawes shall be reasonably advised and devised, when he shall be ther unto required. In witness wherof, the said William Bradford hath in publick courte surrendered the said letters patents actually into the hands and power of the said courte, binding him selfe, his heires, executors, administrators, and assignes to deliver up whatsoever spetialties are in his hands that doe or may concerne the same.[1] [235]

In these ·2· years they had sundry letters out of England to send one over to end the buissines and accounte with Mr. Sherley; who now proffesed he could not make up his accounts without the help of some from hence, espetially Mr. Winslows. They had serious thoughts of it, and the most parte of the partners hear thought it best to send; but they had formerly written shuch bitter and threatening letters as Mr. Winslow was neither willing to goe, nor that any other of the partners should; for he was perswaded, if any of them wente, they should be arested, and an action of shuch summe layed upon them as they should not procure baele, but must lye in prison, and then they would bring them to what they liste; or other wise they might be brought into trouble by the arch-

[1] The Court record continues:

"Memorandum: that the said surrender was made by the said William Bradford, in publick Court, to Nathaniell Sowther, especially authorized by the whole Court to receiue the same, together with the said letters patents, in the name and for the use of the whole body of freemen.

"It is ordered by the Court, that Mr. William Bradford shall haue the keepeing of the said letters patents, which were afterwards deliuered vnto him by the said Nathaniell Sowther in the publike Court." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, II. 11.

bishops means, as the times then stood.[1] But notwithstanding, they weer much inclined to send, and Captaine Standish was willing to goe, but they resolved, seeing they could not all agree in this thing, and that it was waighty, and the consequence might prove dangerous, to take Mr. Winthrops advise in the thing, and the rather, because Mr. Andrews had by many letters acquaynted him with the differences betweene them, and appoynted him for his assigne to receive his parte of the debte.[2] (And though they

[1] Winslow wrote to Winthrop, June 27, 1640: "I received a letter from Mr. Sherley this yeare; he writes that insteed of a letter he had thought to haue seen me, but is glad I came not, for if I or any partner had commen Mr. Beauchamp had trowbled him, and had for that end entertayned Soliciter, etc." 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 167. Winslow added that in the death of the Lord Keeper, Thomas, Lord Coventry, who died January 13, 1639–40, and in the retirement of Sir John Coke, one of the Secretaries of State, "New England in those two is stripped at once of our best friends at the Board: so that now we must live by Faith without any dependance on meanes at all."

[2] One of these letters from Andrews, dated July 8, 1639, is in 5 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, I. 271. It denotes a certain shrewd business method in Andrews. He complained that the Plymouth partners owed him some five or six hundred pounds principal, besides the interest upon it for many years, which he wished Winthrop to aid him in collecting. He then described a gift of heifers to ministers and poor, of which one-half the increase was to revert to Andrews. Then followed a transaction with a fellow partner: "I have lately sould some comoditie vnto Mr. John Beachamp of London, which amounteth vnto the some of 384 li. 06s. 00d., one condition to take satisfaction in New England, either for the whoale, or ellse for so much thearof as Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Edward Winslowe, or some other or others of them shall either paie or secvre to paie vnto your Wor[ship] to content, at or before the 20th daye of June next, which shalbe in the yeare of our Lord 1640, in parte of moneys they owe and are indebted vnto Mr. Jo: Bechamp, one account between him and them, and unto me in parte or in full of the said some of 384. 06. 00, which Mr. Jo: Beachamp oweth me for the foresaid comoditie sould him. And so much of the said some of 384 li. 06. 00 as they shall not have paied or secured to paie vnto me theare for him, before or vppon the 20th daye of June nexte, Mr. Jo: Bechamp hath covenanted to paie me heare vppon the 24th day of June nexte, in full of the said some of 384 li. 06. 00. And if your wor[ship] or asseignes doe rec[eive] the said some of 384 li. 6. 0., or what parte therof shalbe rec[eive]d to content, either in heyfores worth the rates, or in any good comoditie, worth the price to sell, or wherewith heyfores may bee had in exchange at indifferent rates, as they are sould, or so much as good men of Plymoth

deneyed to pay him any as a debte, till the controversie was ended, yet they had depossited 110*li.* in money in his hands for Mr. Andrews, to pay to him in parte as soone as he would come to any agreement with the rest.) But Mr. Winthrop was of Mr. Winslows minde, and disswaded them from sending; so they broak of their resolution from sending, and returned this answer: that the times were dangerous as things stood with them, for they knew how Mr. Winslow had suffered formerley, and for a small matter was clapte up in the Fleete, and it was long before he could gett out, to both his and their great loss and damage; and times were not better, but worse, in that respecte. Yet, that their equall and honest minds might appeare to all men, they made them this tender: to refferr the case to some gentle-men and marchants in the Bay of the Massachusetts, shuch as they should chuse, and were well knowne unto

doe secure, soe to satisfie vnto your wor[ship] for me to content, and for so much thearof as shall at any tyme bee rec[eive]d in commoditie, I desire that yonge heyfores, about 2: or 3: yeares ould, or vnder, may bee thear with bought, and that all of them may bee disposed of, and distributed to and amonge the godly poore in the severall townes and villadges in America, one a peece vnto svch as have not any before, and have moste need, to bee kept for mee for halfe the increase, for 4: 5: or 6: yeares, as shalbe conceaved most meett, and after, in all things to bee disposed of, with theire increase at the time of devition, accordinge to thoase before mentioned, which are to bee provided, with what may bee rec[eived] of Mr. Bradford, Mr. Winslowe, and the reste, vppon my owne account, and in parte of the said fyve or sixe hvndred pounds principall money, they doe owe me, besides forberance, boath which said somes, the former and the latter, are due to me from them as so much redy money lent for theire trade and svply, although the latter bee now for comoditie sould Mr. Bechamp; and thearfore they have good reason to give verry good content in the satisfactions they deliver for boath the one as well as the other. I ame ashamed to bee soe troublesome vnto your wor[ship] as I feare this bussines is like to bee; yeat seinge I intend more the good of the poore herein then any to my particuler, I hope your wor[ship] will excuse my bouldnesse herin. But if our frinds at Plymoth cannot satisfie the whoale in one yeare, lett them doe it in 2 years, and if they cannot doe it in 2 years, lett them doe it in 3 years yearly, so that they would perfect accounts with vs, either as parteners, or allowinge our principall disbursements for them, with so much forberance for the same as shall indifferently bee thought meett, that I might knowe how much to expect from them." The deposit of £110 with Governor Winthrop is probably thus accounted for.

them selves, (as they perceived their wer many of their aquaintance and freinds ther, better knowne to them then the partners hear,) and let them be informed in the case by both sides, and have all the evidence that could be prodused, in writing, or other wise; and they would be bound to stand to their determination, and make good their award, though it should cost them all they had in the world. But this did not please them, but they were offended at it, without any great reasone for ought I know, (seeing nether side could give in clear accountes, the partners here could not, by reason they (to their smarte) were failed by the accountante they sent them, and Mr. Sherley preten[d]ed he could not allso,) save as they conceived it a disparagmente to yeeld to their inferiours in respecte of the place and other concurring circomstances. So this came to nothing; and afterward Mr. Sherley write, that if Mr. Winslow would met him in France, the Low-Countries, or Scotland, let the place be knowne, and he [236] come to him ther. But in regard of the troubles that now begane to arise in our owne nation, and other reasons, this did not come to any effecte.[1] That which made them so desirous to bring things to an end was partly to stope the clamours and aspertions raised and cast upon them hereaboute; though they conceived them selves to sustaine the greatest wrong, and had most cause of complainte; and partly because they feared the fall of catle, in which most parte of their estates lay. And this was not a vaine feare; for they fell indeede before they came to a conclusion, and that so souddenly, as a cowe, that but a month before

[1] The course of events here referred to had been as follows: Pressed by financial necessities and the difficulties due to what was known as the "Bishops Wars" in Scotland, concluding with the treaty of Ripon (October, 1640), Charles I summoned what is known as the "Long Parliament," which met at Westminster, November 3, 1640. See Gardiner, *History*, IX. and X. "What will be the issue of these sore beginnings the Lord onely knoweth, but it concerneth us deeply to be affected with them as a people that must share with them in weale and woe. The Lord in mercy so order and dispose as what is amis may be reformed, and his name may be glorified." *Winslow to Winthrop*, July 7, 1640. 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 168.

was worth 20*li.*, and would so have passed in any paymente, fell now to ·5*li*· and would yeeld no more; and a goate that wente at ·3*li*· or ·50*s*· would now yeeld but ·8· or ·10*s*· at most.[1] All men feard a fall of catle, but it was thought it would be by degrees; and not be from the highest pitch at once to the lowest, as it did, which was greatly to the damage of many, and the undoing of some.[2] An other reason was, they many of them grew aged,

[1] Andrews wished to have for his claim cattle of a certain age and price. On this Winslow wrote: "But the price at that time was under their worth by a yeares growth: for yearlings and the advantage were ordinarily sold for 15*li.* Againe Mr. Andrews is well acquainted with payments in England and how easie a thing it is to turne any valuable commodity into money, but it is otherwise heer, and especially at this the most hard and dead time of all other these many yeares: I speak, as it is with us: but if you conceiue the Gentlemen valued them too high I am contented to let them goe as I offered to your selfe at 18*li.* per head the fiue. If you say it is too high, truly I marvell at it, being this weeke Mr. Hatherly made payment to Mr. Freeman and Mr. Atwood in cows (and in a busines Mr. Andrews, if I be not much mistaken, is interested) at 18*li.* 15*s.* per head. Nay since these valued some passed in account between Mr. Paddy and some of your parts at 20*li.* per head; and therefore I pray you take it into further consideracon, and remember you may fall into an extreame. Truly Sir it is my desire to discharge it that makes me importune you, neither doe I conceiue how you can justly suffer in it: and to avoide suffering I see is not possible: for I finde innocency (by lamentable experience) will little helpe amongst men, yea wherein I haue been most carefull, therein most abused, and therefore in discharging a good conscience we must leaue all events to God." 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 166.

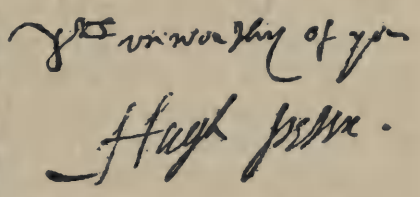
Winter could sell four ewe goats at 50*s.* a head, and two at £3 apiece, high prices for his region. "Provision is very plentyfull now in the Bay, and very Cheape. Money growes scarce their with them; yf passengers Com not over with money, the prize of Cattell will fall spedily. I would willingly sell a score of Cattell, young and old, yf I Could gett a good Cheapman. I do purpose to go into the Bay shortly, yf I Can bringe yt to pas, to se If I Can put away any of our Cattell." *To Trelawny*, June 27, 1640. About three months later he wrote: "I do beleaue Cattell will be Cheape in this Country very shortly. I would willingly sell yearlings heare now for ten pound prize per head, which ar better then them which I sold for £13 and £15 per head the last yeare. Heare ar all sellers of Cattell now that haue them, but noe buyers." *Trelawny Papers*, 204, 218, 243.

[2] The severe check to emigration to New England, which followed the breaking out of the troubles preceding the Great Rebellion, and the consequent return to England of many of those who had previously emigrated, greatly influenced commercial values both in Massachusetts Bay and in New Plymouth.

(and indeed a rare thing it was that so many partners should all live together so many years as these did,) and saw many changes were like to befall; so as they were loath to leave these intanglements upon their children and posteritie, who might be driven to remove places, as they had done; yea, them selves might doe it yet before they deyed. But this bussines must yet rest; the next year gave it more ripnes, though it rendred them less able to pay, for the reasons afforesaid.[1]

The exportation of sheep from New Plymouth had been prohibited under heavy penalties since July, 1633. When in June, 1641, one Nehemiah Smyth was about to leave the colony taking his sheep with him, the Court interfered, and directed him to bring them to Plymouth, and there dispose of them for money or commodities, at the rate of forty shillings for each ewe, and twenty shillings for each lamb. Whatever stock remained unsold he could take with him. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 13; II. 17.

[1] Massachusetts Bay at this time proposed to send agents to England to obtain aid in men and money, and the Salem church was asked to allow Hugh Peter to go as one of the agents. The reply written by John Endecott discouraged the mission, and among other arguments urged, that "It is to be feared that vnlesse the money we exp[ect they] would sollicit for, be freelie giuen vs, it will rather impouerish vs, and so bringe dishonour to God by such ingagements not duely satisfyed then doe vs good, though it should come vppo[n] easie termes. Plimmoth plantacion may giue vs some light herein." 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 139.



Anno Dom: ·1641·[1]

MR. SHERLEY being weary of this controversie, and desirous of an end, (as well as them selves,) write to Mr. John Atwode[2] and Mr. William Collier, ·2· of the inhabitants of this place, and of his speatiall aquaintance, and desired them to be a means to bring this bussines to an end, by advising and counselling the partners hear, by some way to bring it to a composition, by mutuall agreemente. And he write to them selves allso to that end, as by his letter may apear; so much therof as concernse the same I shall hear relate.

SIR: My love remembered, etc. I have writte so much concerning the ending of accounts betweexte us, as I profess I know not what more to write, etc. If you desire an end, as you seeme to doe, ther is (as I conceive) but ·2· waise; that is, to parfecte all accounts, from the first to the last, etc. Now if we find this difficulte, and tedious, haveing not been so stricte and carefull as we should and oughte to have done, as for my owne parte I doe confess I have been somewhat to remisse, and doe verily thinke so are you, etc. I fear you can never make a perfecte accounte of all your pety viages, out, and home too and againe, etc.[3] So then the second way must be, by biding, or com[237]pounding; and this way, first or last, we must fall upon, etc. If we must warr at law for it, doe not you expecte from me, nether

[1] The Assistants chosen this year were Thomas Prence, William Collier, Myles Standish, Edward Winslow, John Brown, Timothy Hatherley and Edmund Freeman. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, II. 8.

[2] John Atwood was in Plymouth as early as 1636, coming from London. He served as an Assistant in 1638, and as treasurer of the Plantation from 1641 to his death in 1644. He mentions no children in his will dated October 20, 1643, but left a fair estate to his wife Ann. She died June 1, 1654. Winsor, *History of Duxbury*, 180.

[3] This was but to pretend advantage, for it could not be done, neither did it need. —BRADFORD.

will I from you, but to cleave the heare, and then I dare say the lawyers will be most gainers, etc. Thus let us set to the worke, one way or other, and end, that I may not allways suffer in my name and estate. And you are not free; nay, the gospell suffers by your delaying, and causeth the professors of it to be hardly spoken of, that you, being many, and now able, should combine and joyne togeather to oppress and burden me, etc. Fear not to make a faire and reasonable offer; beleeve me, I will never take any advantage to plead it against you, or to wrong you; or else let Mr. Winslow come over, and let him have shuch full power and authority as we may ende by compounding; or else, the accounts so well and fully made up, as we may end by reconing. Now, blesed be God, the times be much changed here, I hope to see many of you returne to your native countrie againe, and have shuch freedome and libertie as the word of God prescribes. Our bishops were never so near a downfall as now; God hath miraculously confounded them, and turned all their popish and Machavillian plots and projects on their owne heads, etc.[1] Thus you see what is fitt to be done concerning our perticulere greevances. I pray you take it seriously into consideration; let each give way a litle that we may meete, etc. Be you and all yours kindly saluted, etc. So I ever rest,

Your loving friend,

JAMES SHERLEY.[2]

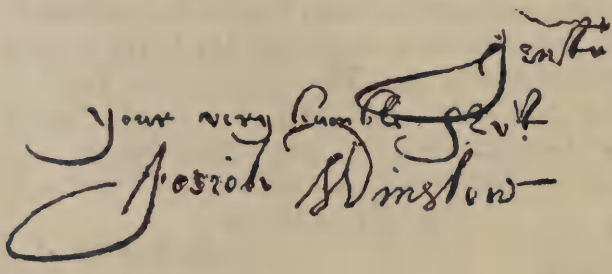
Clapham, May 18, 1641.

Being thus by this leter, and allso by Mr. Atwodes and Mr. Colliers mediation urged to bring things to an end, (and the continuall clamors from the rest,) and by none more urged then by

[1] The references in the text are to the measures then pending in the "Long Parliament," relating to the exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Lords, and the impeachment of Strafford and Laud. See vol. I. pp. 14–17.

[2] James Sherley "was the son of Robert Sherley, gentleman, of London, and Mary, daughter of Richard Holman of Godstone, Surrey, and grandson of Robert Sherley, Cheshire. James married Mary, daughter of William Mott of Colchester, Essex, and granddaughter of Robert Mott, whose will is given in Waters' *Gleanings*, 1135." *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, LXIV. 85; *Visitation of London*, 1633–1635 (Harleian Society), 235, 236.

their own desires, they tooke this course (because many scandals had been raised upon them). They apoynted these ·2· men before mentioned to meet on a certaine day, and called some other freinds on both sides, and Mr. *Free-man, brother in law to Mr. Beachamp;*[1] and having drawne up a collection of all the remains of the stock, in what soever it was, as housing, boats, bark, and all implements belonging to the same, as they were used in the time of the trade, were they better or worce, with the remaines of all commodities, as beads, knives, hatchetts, cloth, or any thing els, as well the refuse as the more vendible, with all debts, as well those that were desperate as others more hopefull; and having spent diverce days to bring this to pass, having the helpe of all bookes and papers, which either any of them selves had, or Josias Winslow, who was their accountante; and they found the sume in all to arise (as the things were valued) to aboute 1400*li.* And they all of them tooke a voluntary but a sollem oath, in the presence one of an other, and of all their frends, the persons abovesaid that were now presente, that this was all that any of them knew of, or could remember; and Josias Winslow did the like for his parte. But the truth is they wrongd them selves much in the valuation, for they reconed some catle as they were taken of Mr. Allerton, as for instance a cowe in the hands of one cost 25*li.* and so she was valued in this accounte; but when she



[1] John Beachampe was son of Thomas Beachampe of Cosgrave, Nottinghamshire, and Mary, daughter of Edward Clarke of Rode, in the same county. He married Alice, daughter of Edmond Freeman of Pulbury, co. Sussex. *Visitation of London*, 1633–1635 (Harleian Society). A letter from him to William Paddy, his son-in-law, dated July 20, 1649, will be found in *Freeman Genealogy*, 23 *n.* In it he speaks of "brother [William] Coddington," the governor of Rhode Island.

came to be past away in parte of paymente, after the agreemente, she would be accepted but at 4*li.* 15*s.* [238] Also, being tender of their oaths, they brought in all they knew owing to the stock; but they had not made the like diligente search what the stocke might owe to any, so as many scattering debts fell upon afterwards more then now they knew of.

Upon this they drew certaine articles of agreemente betweene Mr. Atwode, on Mr. Sherleys behalfe, and them selves. The effecte is as followeth.

Articles of agreemente made and concluded upon the 15. *day of October,* 1641. etc.

Imp[rimis]: Wheras ther was a partnership for diverce years agreed upon betweene James Sherley, John Beacham, and Richard Andrews, of London, marchants, and William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, Myles Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, and John Howland, with Isaack Allerton, in a trade of beaver skines and other furrs arising in New England; the terme of which said partnership being expired, and diverse summes of money in goods adventured into New-England by the said James Sherley, John Beachamp, and Richard Andrews, and many large returnes made from New-England by the said William Bradford, Ed: Winslow, etc.; and differance arising aboute the charge of ·2· ships, the one called the White Angele, of Bristow, and the other the Frindship, of Barnstable, and a viage intended in her, etc.; which said ships and their viages, the said William Bradford, Ed: W. etc. conceive doe not at all appertaine to their accounts of partnership; and weras the accounts of the said partnership are found to be confused, and cannot orderley appeare (through the defaulte of Josias Winslow, the booke keeper); and weras the said W. B. etc. have received all their goods for the said trade from the foresaid James Sherley, and have made most of their returnes to him, by consente of the said John Beachamp and Richard Andrews; and wheras also the said James Sherley hath given power and authoritie to Mr. John Atwode, with the advice and con-

sente of William Collier, of Duxborow, for and on his behalfe, to put shuch an absolute end to the said partnership, with all and every accounts, reconings, dues, claimes, demands, whatsoever, to the said James Sherley, John Beacham, and Richard Andrews, from the said W. B. etc. for and concerning the said beaver trade, and also the charge the said ·2· ships, and their viages made or pretended, whether just or unjuste, from the worlds begining to this presente, as also for the paimente of a purchas of 1800*li.* made by Isaack Allerton, for and on the behalfe of the said W. B., Ed: W., etc., and of the joynt stock, shares, lands, and adventures, what soever in New-England aforesaid, as apeareth by a deede bearing date the *6. Nov'br 1627;* and also for and from shuch sume and sumes of money or goods as are received by William Bradford, Tho: Prence, and Myles Standish, for the recovery of dues, by accounts betwexte them, the said James Sherly, John Beachamp, and Richard Andrews, and Isaack Allerton, for the ship caled the White Angell. Now the said John Attwode, with advice and counsell of the said William Collier, having had much comunication and spente diverse days in agitation of all the said differances and accounts with the said W. B., E. W., etc.; and the said W. B., E. W., etc. have also, with the said book-keeper spente much time in collecting and gathering togeither the remainder of the stock of partnership for the said trade, and what soever hath beene received, or is due by the said attorneyship before expresed, and all, and all manner of goods, debts, and dues therunto belonging, as well those debts that are weake and doubtfull [239] and desperate, as those that are more secure, which in all doe amounte to the sume of 1400*li.* or ther aboute; and for more full satisfaction of the said James Sherley, John Beachamp, and Richard Andrews, the said W. B. and all the rest of the abovesaid partners, togeither with Josias Winslow the booke-keeper, have taken a voluntarie oath, that within the said sume of 1400*li.* or theraboute, is contained what soever they know, to the utmost of their rememberance.

In consideration of all which matters and things before expressed, and to the end that a full, absolute, and finall end may be now made, and all suits in law may be avoyded, and love and peace continued, it is therfore agreed and concluded betweene the said John Attwode,

with the advice and consent of the said William Colier, for and on the behalfe of the said James Sherley, to and with the said W. B., etc. in maner and forme following: viz. that the said John Attwode shall procure a sufficiente release and discharge, under the hands and seals of the said James Sherley, John Beachamp, and Richard Andrews, to be delivered fayer and unconcealed unto the said William Bradford, etc., at or before the last day of August, next insuing the date hereof, whereby the said William Bradford, etc., their heires, executors, and administrators, and every of them shall be fully and absolutly aquited and discharged of all actions, suits, reconings, accounts, claimes, and demands whatsoever concerning the generall stock of beaver trade, paymente of the said 1800*li.* for the purchass, and all demands, reckonings, and accounts, just or unjuste, concerning the tow ships Whit-Angell and Frendship aforesaid, togeather with what soever hath been received by the said William Bradford, of the goods or estate of Isack Allerton, for satisfaction of the accounts of the said ship called the Whit Angele, by vertue of a letter of attourney to him, Thomas Prence, and Myles Standish, directed from the said James Sherley, John Beachamp, and Richard Andrews, for that purpose as afforesaid.[1]

It is also agreed and concluded upon betweene the said parties to these presents, that the said W. B., E. W., etc. shall now be bound in 2400*li.* for paymente of 1200*li.* in full satisfaction of all demands as afforesaid; to be payed in maner and forme following; that is to say, 400*li.* within ·2· months next after the receite of the aforesaid releases and discharges, one hundred and ten pounds wherof is allready in the hands of John Winthrop senior of Boston, Esquire, by the means of Mr. Richard Andrews afforesaid, and 80*li.* waight of beaver now deposited into the hands of the said John Attwode, to be both in part of

[1] "12 (3) 1646. Isaac Allerton for himself his heires execut. and administr: did Ratifie whatsoever Mr. Wm. Bradford Edw Winslowe and Capt Miles Standish Agents for Mr. Sherley Mr. Andrews and Mr. Beecham have done or hereafter shalbe done about the sale of any lands or goods and Cattle formerly his in propriety: provided they do cleerly acquitt him from all debts and demands due from the said Isaac Allerton to the said Mr. Sherley, Andrewes and Beecham and this was by him done the xiith (3) [May] 1646." Aspinwall, *Notarial Records*, 21.

paimente of the said 400*li.* and the other 800*li.* to be payed by 200*li.* per annume, to shuch assignes as shall be appointed, inhabiting either in Plimoth or Massachusetts Bay, in shuch goods and comodities, and at shuch rates, as the countrie shall afford at the time of delivery and paymente; and in the mean time the said bond of 2400*li.* to be deposited into the hands of the said John Attwode. And it is agreed upon by and betweene the said parties to these presents, that if the said John Attwode shall not or cannot procure shuch said releases and discharges as afforesaid from the said James Sherley, John B[e]achamp, and Richard Andrews, at or before the last day of August next insuing the date hear of, that then the said John Attwode shall, at the said day precisely, redeliver, or cause to [240] be delivered unto the said W. B., E. W., etc. their said bond of 2400*li.* and the said 80*li.* waight of beaver, or the due valew therof, without any fraud or further delay; and for performance of all and singuler the covenants and agreements hearin contained and expressed, which on the one parte and behalfe of the said James Sherley are to be observed and performed, shall become bound in the summe of 2400*li.* to them, the said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, Myles Standish, William Brewster, John Allden, and John Howland. And it is lastly agreed upon betweene the said parties, that these presents shall be left in trust, to be kepte for boath parties, in the hands of *Mr. John Reanour, teacher of Plimoth.* In witnes wherof, all the said parties have hereunto severally sett their hands, the day and year first above writen.

JOHN ATTWODE,
WILLIAM BRADFORD,
EDWARD WINSLOW, etc.

In the presence of
EDMOND FREEMAN,
WILLIAM THOMAS,
WILLIAM PADY,
NATHANIELL SOUTHER.

The nexte year this long and tedious bussines came to some issue, as will then appeare, though not to a finall ende with all the parties; but this much for the presente.

I had forgoten to inserte in its place how the church here had

THE RETRACTATION OF Mr. Charles Chancy

formerly Minister of *Ware* in *HARFORDSHIRE.*

Wherein is proved the unlawfulnesse and danger of Rayling in Altars or Communion Tables,

Written with his own hand before his going to *New England*, in the yeer, 1637.

Published by his own direction for the satisfaction of all such who either are, or justly might bee offended with his scandalous submission, made before the High Commission Court *Feb.* 11. *Anno*, 1635.

London, Printed 1641.

invited and sent for Mr. Charles Chansey,[1] a reverend, godly, and very larned man, intending upon triall to chose him pastor of the church hear, for the more comfortable performance of the ministrie with Mr. John Reinor, the teacher of the same.[2] But ther fell

[1] Mr. Chancey came to them in the year 1638, and staid till the later part of this year 1641. — BRADFORD.

Charles Chauncy (1592–1672) was born at Yardley-Bury, Hertfordshire, took his degree of A.M. at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1617, and held for a time the professorship of Greek. In 1627 he became vicar of Ware in his native county. Charges were brought against him (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XIII. 337), but, apparently, he made his peace with his superiors. Again as a result of his hasty temper and ill-considered utterances, he got into trouble, in consequence of which he was cast into prison. He then showed weakness, and published a recantation, of which he subsequently repented. Convinced at last of the impossibility of holding the views he did and retaining a pulpit in the Established Church, he emigrated to New England. Landing at Boston he was invited to Plymouth. Winthrop describes him as "a great scholar, and a godly man." His controversial habits, "being an active man and very vehement," led to much disturbance.

[2] Harvard College was established by the General Court of Massachusetts Bay at Cambridge in 1637. Chauncy was at New Plymouth in the following years, and the move in behalf of a more advanced education found its echo there. In a letter to Winthrop, October 10, 1640, Winslow wrote:

"I suppose you haue heard what was the issue of the day of humiliacion concerning the eleccion of Mr. Chancey. But things are like still to goe ill, for on the 2d day of this weeke a moc̃on was made by Mr. Paddy and some that inordinately cleaue to him for his setling at Jones river, some three miles from Plimouth, who purposeth there to lay the foundac̃on of an Academy, and reade the arts to some that are fitt for that purpose, that so they may also haue use of his gifts. I manifested my dislike to the Gouvernour who still pressed his gifts, but I told him they must still retaine his errors, etc. with his gifts, which were like to weaken if not destroy both the Congregacions of Plymouth and Duxburrow, being seated in the midst equally between both, having already manifested his judgement to be more rigid then any Separatist I ever read or knew, he holding it lawfull (nay a duty for ought I heare) to censure any that shall oppose the major part of the Church, whether it be in eleccion of officers or receiving in or casting out of members if they will not be convicted and yield, by which meanes ten or more may be cast out to receiue in one. But what will be the issue of these things the Lord onely knoweth. I feare the Lord hath a quarrell with us, and the rather because Mr. Bradford and Mr. Reyner are both drawn to yield to the mocion which is so contrary in my apprehension to the peace of the Churches, especially when I consider the confidence or rather selfewillednes of the man. Truly Sir, I

To the Hon^ble Governo^r & the Assistants, John Endicott & w^th the residue of the Hon^ble Bench of Assistants. and the Hon^ble Court of Deputyes,

The humble petic^on of Charles Chauncy. President of Harvard Colledge in Cambridge. sheweth,

Whereas yo^r petic^oner hath continued, w^th much toyle and many afflictions and temptations, in the Colledge about Eight yeares, all w^ch time his family being great, the stipend allowed him by the Hon^ble Court hath been insufficient for his comfortable subsistence, and the unlimited wants of his family w^th necessary supplyes of food and raiment. for want whereof he hath been forced both to sell his owne estate that he brought w^th him, and is disabled by this meanes from future debt.

And in respect that the President hath no setled provision either of house or land to keep soe much as a cow or horse upon, our habitation is very uncomfortable. Also seeing that there are no Colledges in o^r English universityes (wherein y^r petic^oner hath continued long) but that the Presidents thereof have setled their yearely stipend, and allowed them diet w^th other necessary provisions, according to their severall degrees.

y^r petic^oner w^th all due obedience intreateth the Hon^ble Court, not to take offence at his necessity constraining, nor weakness of mind made of such intolerable burthens and temptations now suggested, to withdraw his labor & diligence, upon other opportunityes desired he shall be ready to serve them, though no longer then his place of President is planted in the Colledge.

He desireth also, that this petic^on may not be put by as unseasonable, seeing otherwise it is hindering before.

So shall y^r petic^oner be further ingaged to pray for the peace of Jerusalem,

y^r Wor^ps humbly devoted
in the Lord
Charles Chauncy

15

CHARLES CHAUNCY.

out some differance aboute baptising, he holding it ought only to be by diping, and putting the whole body under water, and that sprinkling was unlawfull. The church yeelded that imersion, or dipping, was lawfull, but in this could countrie not so conveniente. But they could not nor durst not yeeld to him in this, that sprinkling (which all the churches of Christ doe for the most parte use at this day) was unlawfull, and an humane invention, as the same was prest; but they were willing to yeeld to him as farr as they could, and to the utmost; and were contented to suffer him to practise as he was perswaded; and when he came to minister that ordnance, he might so doe it to any that did desire it in that way, provided he could peacably suffer Mr. Reinor, and shuch as desired to have theirs other wise baptised by him, by sprinkling or powering on of water upon them; so as ther might be no disturbance in the church hereaboute. But he said he could not yeeld therunto. Upon which the church procured some other ministers to dispute the pointe with him publikly; as Mr. Ralfe Partrich, of Duxberie,[1]

conceiue if you conceale how you came by your informacion, and giue your Christian advice to Mr. Bradford spedily about it, you may be the instrument of much good; for my self however I am ready to demand a dismission from them, yet I simpathise with them and desire their welfare as much as ever, and for me to oppose, he hath such a party as I might rather expect dismission with a censure then otherwise." 4 *Mass. Hist. Colllections*, VI. 169. The letter indicated that Chauncy was distrusted by Winslow, but had the support of Bradford. Nothing came of the proposed Academy, and the favorers were probably those who received, in November, 1640, "meddowing in the North Meddow by Joanes Riuer," viz. — John Doane, Thomas Willett, John Reyner, Charles Chauncy, Stephen Hopkins, Nathaniel Souther, Phineas Pratt and William Paddy. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 166.

[1] Partridge arrived at Boston, November 17, 1636, and was settled over the church at Duxbury, as its first minister, in the following year. Sewall notes the death on May 15, 1700, of John Wadsworth, of Duxbury. "I used to be much refreshed with his company when I went to Plimouth; and was so this last time. He gave me an account of the beginning of their Town, and of his Fathers going over to fetch Mr. Partridge." *Diary*, II. 15. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, gives Christopher Wadsworth as in Duxbury as early as 1632, and as having a son John, born in 1638. Mather in his *Magnalia*, Book III, ch. xi., writes of Partridge: "There was one singular instance of a *weaned spirit*, whereby he signalized himself unto the Churches

who did it sundrie times, very ablie and sufficently, as allso some other ministers within this govermente. But he was not satisfied; so the church sent to many other churches to crave their help and advise in [241] this mater, and, with his will and consente, sent them his arguments writen under his owne hand. They sente them to the church at Boston in the Bay of Massachusets, to be comunicated with other churches ther. Also they sent the same to the churches of Conightecutt and New-Haven, with sundrie others; and received very able and sufficent answers, as they conceived, from them and their larned ministers, who all concluded against him.[1] But him selfe was not satisfied therwith. Their answers are

of God. That was this: there was a time when most of the ministers in the colony of Plymouth left the colony, upon the discouragement which the want of a *competent maintenance* among the needy and froward inhabitants gave unto them. Nevertheless Mr. Partridge was, notwithstanding the *paucity* and the *poverty* of his congregation, so afraid of being any thing that looked like a *bird wandring from his nest*, that he remained with his poor people till he *took wing* to become a *bird of paradise*, along with the winged *Seraphim* of heaven." The foregoing is Mather's characteristic enlargement of what Morton wrote in *New-Englands Memoriall*, under the year 1658, when "Mr. *Ralph Partridge* died in a good old Age, having for the space of fourty years dispensed the word of God with very little impediment by sickness: His pious and blameless life became very advantagious to his Doctrine; he was much honoured and loved by all that conversed with him. He was of a sound and solid judgement in the main Truths of Jesus Christ, and very able in Disputation to defend them; he was very singular in this, That notwithstanding the pausity and poverty of his Flock, he continued in his Work amongst them to the end of his life. He went to his grave in peace, *as a shock of Corn fully ripe*, and was honourably buried at Duxbury." Morton also prints some funeral verses, probably of his own composition. Partridge attended the Synod of 1647, assembled at Cambridge, the only member from Plymouth, and probably not delegated by the church. Winsor, *History of Duxbury*, 171–178. His youngest daughter, Elizabeth, married, May 11, 1643, Thomas Thacher, a pupil of Charles Chauncy, and the successor of Samuel Newman at Weymouth.

[1] So far as is known none of these papers have been preserved in manuscript. In the Cambridge Synod of 1662 the attitude taken by the majority towards the question of baptism did not satisfy Chauncy, and he prepared a tract *Anti-Synodalia Scripta Americana*, which first appeared in England in that year. See *Brinley Library Catalogue*, 845. There is no reason to believe that Chauncy had modified his views on the disputed point in the interval.

THE DOCTRINE

Of the

SACRAMENT,

With the right uſe therof Catechiſtically handled by way of Queſtion and Anſwer.

By Mr. CHARLES CHANCY ſometimes Miniſter of *Ware*.

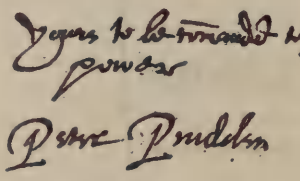


LONDON,
Printed by *G. M.* for *Thomas Underhill* at the ſigne of the Bible in *Wood-ſtreet*, 1642.

too large hear to relate. They conceived the church had done what was meete in the thing, so Mr. Chansey, having been the most parte of ·3· years here, removed him selfe to Sityate,[1] wher he now remaines a minister to the church ther.[2] Also about these

[1] "I have of late had intelligence from Plymouth, Mr. Chancy and the Church are to part, he to provide for himself and they for them selves: At a day of fast, when a full conclusion of the business should have beene made, he openly professed he did as verily believe the truth of his opinions as that ther was a God in heaven, and that he was setled in it, as the earth was upon the Center: If ever such confidence fynd good successe I misse of my mark:

"Since then he hath sent to Mr. Prydden to come to them, being invited by some of the Brethren by private letters. I gave warning to Mr. Prydden to bethink himself what he did; And I know he is sensible and watchfull: I professe, how its possible to keepe peace with a man so adventurous and so pertinacious: who will vent what he list and mayntayne what he vents its beyond all the skill I have to conceave. Mr. Vmphrey I heare invites him to Providence, and that coast is most meet for his opinion and practise." *Thomas Hooker to Thomas Shepard*, November 2, 1640. MS. in *Hutchinson Papers*, Mass. Archives, CCXL. Peter Prudden came to New England with John Davenport, and going to New Haven, had been settled over the church at Milford in April, 1640. This is the only mention of his having been invited to come to New Plymouth.



[2] The church at Scituate had for its first pastor Rev. John Lothrop, who had succeeded Henry Jacob as pastor of an independent church in London. During his service a split occurred in the church on the question of baptism, and Lothrop came to New England, and settled at Scituate in 1634, accompanied by thirty-two members of his church and many others. To avoid a controversy over baptism, he removed with a part of his flock to Barnstable in 1639, and two years later, in 1641, Chauncy came to Scituate to take charge of his church. At the very beginning of his pastorate the Church divided into nearly equal parts, one part remaining with Chauncy. The cause was again a difference of opinion on administering the seals, with special reference to baptism. The question of church organization arising out of this division was referred to the Elders of Plymouth Patent and Massachusetts Bay, and no agreement followed. The Elders of Plymouth were then appealed to, and gave a decision which favored Chauncy; but the proceedings proved that his passion and prejudice had made the question largely a personal one between himself and William Vassall, the leader of those who separated from the Chauncy, or remnant of the Lothrop Church. Massachusetts Bay supported Vassall, and Rev. William Witherell

times, now that catle and other things begane greatly to fall from their former rates, and persons begane to fall into more straits, and many being allready gone from them, (as is noted before,) both to Duxberie, Marshfeeld, and other places, and those of the cheefe sorte, as Mr. Winslow, Captaine Standish, Mr. Allden, and many other, and stille some dropping away daly, and some at this time, and many more unsetled, it did greatly weaken the place, and by reason of the straitnes and barrennes of the place, it sett the thoughts of many upon removeall; as will appere more hereafter.[1]

was called to take charge of a church of the dissidents. The incident is told in Deane, *History of Scituate*, 59–89. See also, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, VI. 471.

Chauncy remained at Scituate until 1654, when all differences between the two churches were healed. To the last he held to his opinions on baptism by immersion, of which Winthrop (*History*, II. 72) relates some amusing, though at that time very serious, incidents, and on administering the Lord's Supper in the evening and on every Lord's day. In 1654 he was preparing to return to England, where the changes promised a better field for his labors; but the presidency of Harvard College falling vacant by the dismission of Dunster, he was chosen to that place. He filled the office until his death February 17, 1671–72.

The General Court in November, 1640, granted lands to eight persons, meadow lands by Jones River (p. 303, *supra*). Among the grantees was Chauncy, who appears to have been unwilling to remain in New Plymouth. The town in December of the same year "do generally consent that Mr. Chauncey shall have the place that he desireth to be graunted unto him if no way can be found for his staying at Plymouth." He also received land at Mattapoyst. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, II. 9; *Records of the Town of Plymouth*, I. 6.

[1] Town meetings were held by the inhabitants of Plymouth on September 16, December 31, 1641, and October 17, 1642, at which a committee appointed by the General Court granted lands within the township of Plymouth, to such as required new plots or an enlargement of their present holdings. One curious reservation was of the lands "beyond the Second Brook," which "shall not be graunted forth to any man except to a pastor or a teacher." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, II. 25. Yet nothing could prevent the people from spreading into new territory, setting up churches and laying out towns. The growth and influence of New Plymouth declined as those of the Massachusetts Bay plantation increased. Its harbor, its land, and the opportunities caused the locality to be considered less desirable, both as a plantation and for commercial purposes.

Anno Dom: ·1642·

MARVILOUS it may be to see and consider how some kind of wickednes did grow and breake forth here, in a land wher the same was so much witnesed against, and so narrowly looked unto, and severly punished when it was knowne; as in no place more, or so much, that I have known or heard of; insomuch as they have been somewhat censured, even by moderate and good men, for their severitie in punishments.[1] And yet all this could not suppress the breaking out of sundrie notorious sins, (as this year, besides other, gives us too many sad presidents and instances,) espetially drunkennes and unclainnes; not only incontinencie betweene persons unmaried, for which many both men and women have been punished sharply enough, but some maried persons allso.[2] But that which is worse, even sodomie

[1] Winthrop makes the same complaint. "As people increased, so sin abounded, and especially the sin of uncleanness, and still the providence of God found them out." *History*, II. *48.

[2] So imperfect are the records of the plantation that no conclusion can be drawn as to the frequency of the crimes, or even the manner of punishment. In the years 1633–1640 the penalties for drunkenness were, a fine, stocks, whipping or disfranchisement (I. 12, 36, 44, 87, 100, 106, 132). The sale of intoxicants was under strict regulation, as also was the entertainment of strangers. These regulations, however, proved difficult of enforcement. On the more serious offences the records approach greater completeness, for the punishments were severer and a public minute added to their solemnity. Fornication fell more properly under church discipline, and, indeed, but for the requirements of the church would rarely have come to light. The confession was made only when there was a child; unless the confession was made and public penance performed, the child could not be baptized; without baptism the child was doomed to hell — such was the course of reasoning. See *Some Phases of Sexual Morality and Church Discipline in Colonial New-England*, 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, VI. 477. In New Plymouth the culprits were either placed in the stocks or whipped, and the punishment was inflicted upon woman as well as man. For a particularly noticeable act of incontinency, an Indian being involved,

and bugerie, (things fearfull to name,) have broak forth in this land, oftener then once. I say it may justly be marveled at, and cause us to fear and tremble at the consideration of our corrupte natures, which are so hardly bridled, subdued, and mortified; nay, cannot by any other means but the powerful worke and grace of Gods spirite. But (besides this) one reason may be, that the Divell may carrie a greater spite against the churches of Christ and the gospell hear, by how much the more they indea[v]our to preserve holynes and puritie amongst them, and strictly punisheth the contrary when it ariseth either in church or comone wealth; that he might cast a [242] blemishe and staine upon them in the eyes of [the] world, who use to be rash in judgmente. I would rather thinke thus, then that Satane hath more power in these heathen lands, as som have thought, then in more Christian nations, espetially over Gods servants in them.

2. An other reason may be, that it may be in this case as it is with waters when their streames are stopped or dammed up, when they gett passage they flow with more violence, and make more noys and disturbance, then when they are suffered to rune quietly in their owne chanels. So wikednes being here more stopped by strict laws, and the same more nerly looked unto, so as it cannot rune in a comone road of liberty as it would, and is inclined, it searches every wher, and at last breaks out wher it getts vente.

3. A third reason may be, hear (as I am verily perswaded) is not more evills in this kind, nor nothing nere so many by proportion, as in other places; but they are here more discoverd and seen, and

the woman was sentenced "to be whipt at a carts tayle through the townes streets, and to weare a badge vpon her left sleeue during her aboad within this gouerment; and if shee shalbe found without it abroad, then to be burned in the face with a hott iron." Not until December, 1641, did a case of adultery appear in the records. The punishment included severe whippings and the wearing "(whilst they remayne in the gouerment) two letters, viz. an AD, for Adulterers, daily, vpon the outside of their vppermost garment, in a most emenent place thereof." If found without this mark, another whipping would be their lot.

made publick by due serch, inquisision, and due punishment; for the churches looke narrowly to their members, and the magistrates over all, more strictly then in other places. Besides, here the people are but few in comparison of other places, which are full and populous, and lye hid, as it were, in a wood or thickett, and many horrible evills by that means are never seen nor knowne; wheras hear, they are, as it were, brought into the light, and set in the plaine feeld, or rather on a hill, made conspicuous to the veiw of all.

But to proceede; ther came a letter from the Gov[erno]r in the Bay to them here, touching matters of the fore-mentioned nature, which because it may be usefull I shall hear relate it, and the passages ther aboute.

Sir: Having an opportunitie to signifie the desires of our Generall Court in tow things of spetiall importance, I willingly take this occasion to imparte them to you, that you may imparte them to the rest of your magistrates, and also to your Elders, for counsell; and give us your advise in them. The first is concerning heinous offences in point of uncleannes; the perticuler cases, with the circomstances, and the questions ther upon, you have hear inclosed.[1] The ·2· thing is concerning the Islanders at Aquidnett; that seeing the cheefest of them are gone from us, in offences, either to churches, or commone welth, or both; others are dependants on them, and the best sorte are shuch as close with them in all their rejections of us.[2] Neither is it only in a

[1] The details of the distressing story leading to this inquiry will be found in Winthrop, II. *45.

[2] After the proceedings of the General Court in its session of March 1, 1641–42, the Records contain this entry. "A quere. The plantac̃on of Prouidence haueing in it many honest and peaceable people, which groane vnder the want of gouernment and the ryotts and disorders falling out therevpon, the place being reputed within the gouernment of Plymouth, least worse thinges may fall out to the further and greater trouble of the colony, or honest people there, being ouerpressed by vyolent and turbulent persons should submitt or subject the place to another gouernment, we desire that a seasonable considerac̃on may be had thereof, for prevention of future mischeefs, if the place be within this gouernment, as it is generally reputed." *Plymouth*

faction that they are devided from us, but in very deed they rend them selves from all the true churches of Christ, and, many of them, from all the powers of majestracie. We have had some experience hereof by some of their underworkers, or emissaries, who have latly come amongst us, and have made publick defiance against magistracie, ministrie, churches, and church covenants, etc. as anti-christian; secretly also sowing the seeds of Familisme, and Anabaptistrie, to the infection of some, and danger of others; so that we are not willing to joyne with them in any league or confederacie at all, but rather that you would consider and advise with us how we may avoyd them, and keep ours from being infected by them. Another thing I should mention to you, for the maintenance of the trade of beaver; if ther be not a company to order it in every jurisdition among the English, which companies should agree in generall of their way in trade, I supose that the trade will be overthrowne, and the Indeans will abuse us. For this cause we have latly put it into order amongst us, hoping of incouragmente from you (as we have had) that we may continue

Col. Rec., II. 37. Not until 1648 was it formally decided that the settlement on Rhode Island lay within the bounds of the Plymouth patent. It will be seen that the question was raised only a few weeks before this letter came from Massachusetts Bay, the authorities of which would have no intercourse, not even by letter, with the inhabitants of Aquidnett. Winthrop, II. *21. The visit to Boston of Francis Hutchinson, son of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, and William Collins, her son-in-law, in June, 1641, was largely responsible for Bellingham's words. *Ib.* *38. The Rhode Islanders long continued a source of annoyance to their neighbors.

In 1648 the Commissioners of the United Colonies "upon the perusall of the antient Patent graunted to New Plymouth," found that Rhode Island fell within the line and bounds of that plantation, "which the honourable comittee of parlement thinke not fitt to Straighten or infringe; nor may we." This record was made upon an application of certain inhabitants of Rhode Island for the Island to be received into the Confederation. An earlier application made in 1644 had been answered by providing that if the Island "will absolutely and without reservation submitt, either the Massachusetts [or] Plymouth may receiue them." In 1648 the people were to acknowledge themselves within the Plymouth jurisdiction, and then the Commissioners would "consider and advize how youe may bee accepted vpon Just termes and with tender Respects to your Conveniencie." The condition was not acceptable to those of Rhode Island, and that Colony never came into the Confederation. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 23, 110.

the same.[1] Thus not further to trouble you, I rest, with my loving remembrance to your selfe, etc.

Your loving friend,

RI: BELLINGHAM.

Boston, 28 (1.) [March], 1642.

The note inclosed follows on the other side. [244][2]

[1] In Massachusetts Bay the London Company had in 1629 reserved the fur trade to the joint stock for seven years. No details of the arrangement or the success attending it have been preserved. At the expiration of that term, in 1636, the Standing Council received authority to farm out an exclusive privilege for three years. In 1637 all trade with outside Indians was prohibited. This prohibition remained in force only two months. In June, 1641: "It is ordered, that no person within this iurisdiction shall trade in furrs or wampam with any Indians, upon penalty of forfeture of the same to the company. And this court doth appoint Leift. Willard, John Holeman, Rich'd Collecott, and so many as they shall receive into their society, of which number it shalbee lawfull for Boston to present 3 or 4, Charles Towne 2, and each other towne one, which they shall not refuse without iust cause; and this Court doth give liberty to these persons to trade with the Indians all manner of commodities, except guns, powder, shott and weapons, for which they shall give into the treasury the twentieth part of all furs by them so traded, according as they shall arise to them, and that they shall take of all the wampam from the colledge, provided it exceed not 25*l*, and to make payment for it. And they shall have liberty to make orders for the ordering of the trade in bever, and that this Court shall support and uphold them in all their lawfull undertakings, and that they shall buy all their commodities within this iurisdiction." *Mass. Col. Rec.*, 1. 322. This was the arrangement when Bellingham wrote.

[2] Deane notes that at this point a leaf had been cut from the manuscript volume, a memorandum by Prince showing that it was missing "when the book came into my hands at first," and adds: "The folio wanting contained the questions inclosed by Governor Bellingham, with, probably, a recital of the occasion on which they arose, of which Winthrop gives a sufficiently minute account. If five or six more of the original folios following had shared the fate of the one now missing, no serious loss would have been sustained." But no better example of the manner in which questions of crime and punishment were discussed and determined in the plantations can be found, and as such it presents a curious chapter in the criminal law of Massachusetts. In 1642 no judicial decisions were available, as precedents, and it was doubtful if the crime referred to in the letter was included in the laws which the General Courts of the plantations had framed. As the Scriptures were to be the rule where the laws proved deficient, the subject was referred to the elders for their opinion.

WORTHY AND BELOVED SIR:

Your letter (with the questions inclosed) I have comunicated with our Assistants, and we have refered the answer of them to shuch Reve[ren]d Elders as are amongst us, some of whose answers thertoo we have here sent you inclosed, under their owne hands; from the rest we have not yet received any. Our farr distance hath bene the reason of this long delay, as also that they could not conferr their counsells togeather.

For our selves, (you know our breedings and abillities,) we rather desire light from your selves, and others, whom God hath better inabled, then to presume to give our judgments in cases so difficulte and of so high a nature. Yet under correction, and submission to better judgments, we propose this one thing to your prudent considerations. As it seems to us, in the case even of willfull murder, that though a man did smite or wound an other, with a full pourpose or desire to kill him, (which is murder in a high degree, before God,) yet if he did not dye, the magistrate was not to take away the others life.[1] So by proportion in other grosse and foule sines, though high attempts and nere approaches to the same be made, and shuch as in the sight and account of God may be as ill as the accomplishmente of the foulest acts of that sine, yet we doute whether it may be safe for the magistrate to proceed to death; we thinke, upon the former grounds, rather he may not. As, for instance, in the case of adultrie, (if it be admitted that it is to be punished with death, which to some of us is not cleare,)[2] if the body be not actually defiled, then death is not to be inflicted. So in sodomie, and beastialitie, if ther be not penetration. Yet we confess foulnes of circomstances, and frequencie in the same, doth make us remaine in the darke, and desire further light from you, or any, as God shall give.

As for the ·2· thing, concerning the Ilanders? we have no conversing with them, nor desire to have, furder then necessitie or humanity may require.

And as for trade? we have as farr as we could ever therin held an orderly course, and have been sory to see the spoyle therof by others,

[1] Exod: 21. 22. Deu: 19. 11. Num: 35. 16. 18.—BRADFORD.

[2] See p. 308, *supra*.

and fear it will hardly be recovered.[1] But in these, or any other things which may concerne the commone good, we shall be willing to advise and concure with you in what we may. Thus with my love remembered to your selfe, and the rest of our worthy friends, your Assistants, I take leave, and rest,

Your loving friend,

W. B.

Plim: 17 ·3· month [May], 1642.

[1] In June, 1639, Bradford and his partners gave warning that they would not hold "the trade" after November of that year. The records of the plantation do not show that any action followed this warning, and in December, 1640, the General Court passed the following regulation:

"Whereas the trade is not now followed by any man, and there may be some smale thinges some tymes had of the Indians in the plantac̃ons within the gouernment, and that an auncient act doth restraine all persons, without the consent of such as haue the trade, to trade or traffic with the Indians or natiues, it is thought meete by the Court, that if any inhabitants within the gouernment shall trade with the natiues in any of the plantac̃ons within the patent, for corne, beades, veneson, or some tymes for a beaver skine, hee shall not be reputed nor taken to be a transgressor of the said acte.

"Also, concerneing the trade, it is thought meete, that if any man be disposed to vndertake the same for some yeares, they shall bring in their names before the next Court of Assistants, that if the Gouernor do approue of them, and the condic̃ons on which they will vndertake the same, they may be approued of, or els the Gouernor to vndertake the same, with such partners as he shall like of for the mannageing of it, in such wise for the summer season as he shall thinke best for the space of one yeare." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 126; II. 4. The price at which the privilege was sold appears to have been £20, which is certainly good evidence of the extent of decay in the trade. *Ib.* 10. In December, 1641, the Court again offered the trade to any disposed to take it for one or more years, and added as an inducement that the adventurers "shall take their corne that makes their biskett within this collony, and that the skins had by the trade shalbe vented for the collonys use." 29. The plan thus created a monopoly, as the skins could be sold only within the colony. When it came to obtain powder and lead for the Narragansett war, this restriction was suspended, and the partners were permitted to sell their skins where they could, and to dispose of the powder and shot so obtained to towns in exchange for corn. 47. The confederation of the Colonies in 1643 necessarily altered conditions, as a monopoly of the trade by any one colony was out of the question, and open competition among them would obviously have led to jealousies and complications, and to a continuous war with the natives. The Commissioners considered the question at their meeting in September, 1644, and proposed a species of joint stock operation. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 22.

2

Articles of Agreemt Entered into this 28th day of March Between Mr William Bradford Gover[nor] Mr Thomas Prence Mr Thomas Willett Mr Willm Paddy and Mr Joseph Winslow of the one parte and the Trade of Kenebeck of the Country wch is as followeth ——

ffirst that we all agree for the Takeinge of the Trade for the space of seaven yeare or longer as the tyme is that the Country shall hold yt vs.

Secondly that the stock wch is now in being as appeares in the booke shall be Continued for the Managinge of the Trade and not diminished by any of the partners

Thirdly that this stock shall be managed as formerly for the vse of the aboue sayd partners or for three theyre Administrators or assignes as god shall please to Remoove any by death: and this to be done by them which survive of the aboue sayd partners:

4thly that there be a yearly Accompt given to the Company or Maior part: by him that keepes the Booke at the Conclusion of the yeare

5thly that no man take vpp any part of the stock without order from the Company that the stock may be preserued or Rather Encreased for the benefit of the whole

Boston this 3d of May 1655

William Bradford.
Tho: Prence
Wm Bartlet.

William Paddy

Now follows the ministers answers. And first Mr. Reynors.

Qest: What sod[o]miticall acts are to be punished with death, and what very facte (ipso facto) is worthy of death, or, if the fact it selfe be not capitall, what circomstances concurring may make it capitall?

Ans: In the judiciall law (the moralitie wherof concerneth us) it is manyfest that carnall knowledg of man, or lying with man, as with woman, cum penetratione corporis, was sodomie, to be punished with death; what els can be understood by Levit: 18. 22. and 20. 13. and Gen: 19. 5? 2ly. It seems allso that this foule sine might be capitall, though ther was not penitratio corporis, but only contactus et fricatio usque ad effusionem seminis, for these reasons: [245] 1. Because it was sin to be punished with death, Levit. 20. 13. in the man who was lyen withall, as well as in him that lyeth with him; now his sin is not mitigated wher ther is not penitration, nor augmented wher it is, wheras its charged upon the women, that they were guilty of this unnaturall sine, as well as men, Rom. 1. 26. 27. the same thing doth furder apeare.

2. because of that proportion betwexte this sin and beastialitie, wherin if a woman did stand before, or aproach to, a beast, for that end, to lye downe therto, (whether penetration was or not,) it was capitall, Levit: 18. 23. and 20. 16.

3ly. Because something els might be equivalent to penetration wher it had not been, viz. the fore mentioned acts with frequencie and long continuance with a high hand, utterly extinguishing all light of nature; besides, full intention and bould attempting of the foulest acts may seeme to have been capitall here, as well as coming presumtuously to slay with guile was capitall. Exod: 21. 14.[1]

[1] Modern criticism has determined five distinct periods in the history of Israel's legal system: [1] as a desert or nomadic people; [2] as an agricultural people influenced by the Canaanites whom they conquered and absorbed; [3] as one led by the prophets through a period of intense political and religious activity; [4] as one in exile under the spell of Babylonian and Persian religions; and finally, [5] in post-exilic days, as one under oral law. Each situation required and developed a form of laws, and the various forms may be identified by the scope of the injunctions and the language in which they are expressed. The earliest laws were the ten commandments, regarded as of divine origin; and each subsequent code, introduced by

Yet it is not so manyfest that the same acts were to be punished with death in some other sines of uncleannes, which yet by the law of God were capitall crimes; besides other reasons, (1.) because sodomie, and also bestialitie, is more against the light of nature then some other capitall crimes of unclainnes, which reason is to be attended unto, as that which most of all made this sin capitall; (2.) because it might be commited with more secrecie and less suspition, and therfore needed the more to be restrained and suppresed by the law; (3ly) because ther was not the like reason and degree of sinning against family and posteritie in this sin as in some other capitall sines of uncleannes.

2. Quest: How farr a magistrate may extracte a confession from a delinquente, to acuse him selfe of a capitall crime, seeing Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum.

Ans: A majestrate cannot without sin neglecte diligente inquis[it]ion into the cause brought before him. Job 29. 16.[1] Pro: 24. 11. 12. and 25. 2.[2] (2ly.) If it be manifest that a capitall crime is committed,

the priests, was clothed with the same authority or claim of origin. As the simple injunction passed into the elaborately complicated ceremonial, the priests asserted that they were applying the Mosaic laws, and thus the later laws came to be associated with the initial revelation at Sinai. "Through all the laws, early and late alike, the same God was making known his will to men." The accepted descriptions of these various systems are: 1. The primitive codes, or oral laws and custom; 2. the Deuteronomic codes, the beginning of written law; 3. the Holiness code, prepared in captivity in Babylonia; and 4. the Priestly code, which placed emphasis upon the ceremonial, the rigorous ritualism of the scribes and Pharisees. From the stone tablets to the priestly codes, or from 1100 B.C. to the birth of Christ, the Hebrews modified and expanded their laws to meet the conditions of their remarkable career in history. By the side of ceremonial injunctions grew a mass of judgments or case law, plastic and intended for the guidance of judges as well as of people. Kent, *Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents*. To the magistrates and elders of the New England plantations Bible law was of divine origin, and possessed universal merit, without respect to time or place.

[1] "I was a father vnto the poore, and when I knew not the cause, I sought it out diligently."

[2] "Deliver them that are drawen to death, and wilt thou not preserve them that are led to be slaine?

"If thou say, Behold, we knew not of it; he that pondereth the heart, doeth not

and the comone reporte, or probabilitie, suspition, or some complainte, (or the like,) be of this or that person, a magistrate ought to require, and by all due means to procure from the person (so farr allready bewrayed) a naked confession of the fact, as apears by that which is morall and of perpetuall equitie, both in the case of uncertaine murder, Deut: 21. 1. 9[1] and slander, Deut: 22. 13. 21;[2] for though nemo tenetur prodere seipsum, yet by that which may be known to the magistrate by the forenamed means, he is bound thus to doe, or els he may betray his countrie and people to the heavie displeasure of God, Levit: 18. 24. 25. Jos: 22. 18. Psa: 106. 30;[3] shuch as are innocente to the sinfull, base, cruell lusts of the profane, and shuch as are delinquents, and others with them, into the hands of the stronger temptations, and more bouldness, and hardnes of harte, to commite more and worse villany, besides all the guilt and hurt he will bring upon him selfe. (3ly.) To inflicte some punishmente, meerly for this reason, to extracte a conffession of a capitall crime, is contrary to the nature of vindictive justice, which always hath respecte to a known crime committed by the person punished; and it will therfore, for any thing which can before be knowne, be the provocking and forcing of wrath,

hee vnderstand it? and he that keepeth thy soule, knoweth he it not? will he not also recompense every man according to his works? . . .

"The glory of God is to conceale a thing secret; but the Kings honour is to search out a thing."

[1] "If one bee found slaine in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee to possesse it, lying in the field, and it is not knowen who hath slain him . . .

"So shalt thou take away the cry of innocent blood from thee, when thou shalt doe that which is right in the eyes of the Lord."

[2] As in the reference in Note 1 Reyner probably intended to include the series of verses, 1–9 and 13–21.

[3] "24. Ye shall not defile your selves in any of these things: for in all these the Nations are defiled which I will cast out before you.

"25. And the land is defiled; therefore I will visite the wickednesse thereof upon it, and the land shall vomit out her inhabitants."

"18. Yee also are turned away this day from the Lord: and seeing ye rebel to day against the Lord, even to morrow he will be wroth with all the Congregation of Israel."

"30. But Phinehas stoode up and executed judgement, and the plague was stayed."

compared to the wringing of the nose, Pro: 30. 33.[1] which is as well forbiden the fathers of the countrie as of the family, Ephe. 6. 4.[2] as produsing many sad and dangerous effects. That an oath (ex officio) for shuch a purpose is no due means, hath been abundantly proved by the godly learned, and is well known.[3]

Q. 3. In what cases of capitall crimes one witnes with other circomstances shall be sufficiente to convince? or is ther no conviction without ·2· witneses? [4]

[1] "When one churneth milke, he bringeth forth butter: and hee that wringeth his nose, causeth blood to come out, so he that forceth wrath, bringeth forth strife."

[2] "And ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in instruction and information of the Lord."

[3] The Court of High Commission was empowered to convict by testimony to be obtained "by all other ways and means" which could be devised. "The meaning of this vague clause was soon evident to all. The Court began to make use of a method of extracting information from unwilling witnesses, which was known as the *ex-officio* oath. It was an oath tendered to an accused person, that he would give true answers to such questions as might be put to him. He was forced not only to accuse himself, but he was liable to bring into trouble his friends, concerning whom the Court was as yet possessed of no certain information." Gardiner, *History of England*, 1603–1642, I. 36. This method of procedure was particularly hateful to the Puritans, and the right to apply it was gravely questioned. The subject is noticed in Neal, *History of the Puritans* (1837), I. 271, 342, 435.

[4] When on trial for his life Sir Walter Ralegh demanded the production of at least two witnesses in open court. In support of this contention he cited two acts of Edward VI (1 Ed. VI. ch. 12, and 6 Ed. VI. ch. ii), and one of Philip and Mary (1 & 2 Philip and Mary, ch. 10) confirming them. But Chief Justice Popham decided against him, on the ground that in 1556 the Judges had dealt in consultation with this very question and had decided that the later act had repealed the earlier, and they were thus bound to fall back upon the old custom by which they were to be content with one accuser, who need not be produced in court. So far, therefore, as English precedent showed, one witness would suffice. Gardiner, *History of England*, I. 99. This conclusion was reversed soon after, and the contrary practice has been recognized for two centuries. Reyner and Partridge followed the Bible; beginning with a like opinion, Chauncy concluded by having recourse, in cases of open doubt, to decision by lot.

Even in causes other than capital, this matter of two witnesses was not neglected. As in the case of Thomas James, pastor of the church at Charlestown, the brethren "had not proceeded with him in a due order — for of the two witnesses produced, one was the accuser." Winthrop, I. *182.

Ans: In taking away the life of man, one witnes alone will not suffice, ther must be tow, or that which is instare; the texts are manifest, Numb: 35. 30. Deut: 17. 6. and 19. 15.[1] 2ly. Ther may be conviction by one witnes, and some thing that hath the force of another, as the evidencie of the fact done by shuch an one, and not an otther; unforced confession when ther was no fear or danger of suffering for the fact, hand writings acknowledged and confessed.

JOHN REYNOR.[246]

Mr. Partrich his writing, in ans[wer] to the questions.

What is that sodomiticall acte which is to be punished with death?

Though I conceive probable that a voluntary effusion of seed per modum concubitus of man with man, as of a man with woman, though in concubitu ther be not penetratio corporis, is that sin which is forbiden, Levit: 18. 22. and adjudged to be punished with death, Levit: 20. 13. because, though ther be not penetratio corporis, yet ther may be similitudo concubitus muliebris, which is that the law specifieth; yet I dar not be con-[2] (1.) because, Gen: 19. 5. the intended acte of the Sodomites (who were the first noted maisters of this unnaturall art of more then brutish filthines)[3] is expressed by carnall

[1] The texts adduced by Reyner are:

"30. Whosoever killeth any person, the Iudge shall slay the murtherer, through witnesses: but one witnesse shall not testifie against a person to cause him to die."

"6. At the mouth of two or three witnesses shall he that is worthy of death, die: but at the mouth of one witnesse, he shall not die."

"15. One witnes shall not rise against a man for any trespasse, or for any sinne, or for any fault that he offendeth in, but at the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall the matter be stablished." See p. 239, *supra*.

[2] "Confident?" DEANE.

[3] The punishment of a city at the hands of an offended deity for its wickedness by some overwhelming catastrophe is found in the mythic stories of many peoples, and usually with a moral attached, inculcated by the saving of one good man and his family. "It is now beyond gainsaying that naïve races, in viewing certain striking phenomena of nature, suggestive of special divine interventions, are led by a mental law, to form mythic narratives respecting calamities which have happened to individuals or to populations under circumstances which in the most widely separated regions resemble each other. The Sodom-story in the traditional text can be in its main features explained as such a mythic narrative, and cannot otherwise be accounted

copulation of man with woman: Bring them out unto us, that we may know them; (2ly.) because it is observed among the nations wher this unnaturall unclainnes is commited, it is with penetration of the body; (3ly.) because, in the judiciall proceedings of the judges in England, the indict[ments] so rune (as I have been informed).[1]

Q. How farr may a magistrate extracte a confession of a capitall crime from a suspected and an accused person?

Ans. I conceive that a magistrate is bound, by carfull examenation of circomstances and waighing of probabilities, to sifte the accused, and by force of argumente to draw him to an acknowledgment of the truth; but he may not extracte a confession of a capitall crime from a suspected person by any violent means, whether it be by an oath imposed, or by any punishmente inflicted or threatened to be inflicted, for so he may draw forth an acknowledgmente of a crime from a fearfull innocente; if guilty, he shall be compelled to be his owne accuser, when no other can, which is against the rule of justice.[2]

for in any way that is not open to well-founded critical objection." This interpretation tends to disprove that "the peoples with whom the Israelites had intercourse were so much beneath them in morality as the traditional text represents. Misunderstood mythology is the true source of the terrible narratives in Gen. xix, 1–11. Judg. xix, 15–30." T. K. Cheyne, in *Encyclopedia Biblica*, iv. 4666.

[1] In Lambarde's *Eirenarcha, or of the Office of the Iustices of Peace*, first printed in 1581 and issued seven times between 1582 and 1610, he classes among "felonies in Lay causes" the "detestable vice of Buggery with man or beast, 25 H. 8. c. 6 & 5 El. c. 17." (Book iv, cap. 4.) And in the forms of indictments, presentments, etc., appended to the volume he gives that for this crime "ac cum dicto I. S. puero praedict, sceleratissime, felonice, ac contra naturae ordinem, tunc ibidem rem habuit veneream, dictumque puerum carnaliter cognovit, ac sic cum eodem puero peccatum illud horribile, ac Zodomiticum Anglice vocatum Buggerie, ad tunc ibidem felonice commisit, ac perpetravit, contra pacem," etc. Lambarde's compilation was known at New Plymouth.

[2] The Massachusetts *Body of Liberties* (1641), § 45, provided: "No man shall be forced by Torture to confesse any Crime against himselfe nor any other unlesse it be in some Capitall case where he is first fullie convicted by cleare and suffitient evidence to be guilty, After which if the cause be of that nature, That it is very apparent there be other conspiratours, or confederates with him, Then he may be tortured, yet not with such Tortures as be Barbarous and inhumane." This provision was incorporated in the first compilation of laws in 1648.

Worthie Sir

, not hauinge had any iust informatiō of Mr Brewsters carriage since his departure fro us. by any knowne to us, your letters of comendatiō came seasonable to hand, whose testimonie of him, ſwayed much with diuers of the brethrē, for his reporing to the churches comands, concurringe with the manifestatiō of godly fo Braw ſore the many errors of his way (whereby much dishonour hath redounded to the god (scandall to me) & a ſeriouſe & ſolemne protestatiō of reformatiō, by a carefull walkinge ouer himſelfe for the time to come to make good: the lord in much mercy graunt that yow & all that ſhall converſe with him, may reape the fruite of his diſpenſatiō towards him by the church, to his glory, your good & his owne true comfort, with though wee ſhall not haue the ſight of by his fellowſhipp, yet wee ſhall reioyce to heare of by credible teſtimonie for the loue wee beare to him, & to his much honored father now at reſt with the lord, & thus with my hartly ſalutatiō remained do yow & comend yow to the gratious direcō & bleſſinge of the lord & reſt in him

14 day of the 6 month. 1650.

yours in all offices of loue
Ralph Partrich.

RALPH PARTRICH, 1650.

Q. In what cases of capitall crimes one witnes with other circomstances shall be sufficente to convicte; or is ther no conviction without two witnesses?

Ans: I conceive that, in the case of capitall crimes, ther can be no safe proceedings unto judgmente without too witnesses, as Numb: 35. 30. Deut: 19. 15. excepte ther can some evidence be produsced as aveilable and firme to prove the facte as a witnes is, then one witnes may suffice; for therin the end and equitie of the law is attained. But to proceede unto sentence of death upon presumptions, wher probably ther may subesse falsum, though ther be the testimony of one wittnes, I supose it cannot be a safe way; better for shuch a one to be held in safe custodie for further triall, I conceive.

RALPH PARTRICH.[1]

The Answer of Mr. Charles Chancy.

An contactus et fricatio usque ad seminis effusionem sine penetratione corporis sit sodomia morte plectenda?

Q. The question is what sodomiticall acts are to be punished with death, and what very facte committed, (ipso facto,) is worthy of death, or if the facte it selfe be not capitall, what circomstances concuring may make it capital. The same question may be asked of rape, inceste, beastialitie, unnaturall sins, presumtuous sins? These be the words of the first question.

Ans: The answer unto this I will lay downe (as God shall directe by his word and spirite) in these following conclusions: (1.) That the judicials of Moyses, that are appendances to the morall law, and grounded on the law of nature, or the decalogue, are immutable, and perpetuall, which all orthodox devines acknowledge; see the authors following. Luther, Tom. 1. Whitenberge: fol. 435. and fol. 7.[2] Me-

[1] In the inventory of his estate, taken April 25, 1658, a library of four hundred volumes is mentioned. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, v. 387.

[2] Numerous tracts and volumes of Luther were printed at Wittenberg, a place inseparably connected with his life work. The university in the town had been opened in 1502 by the Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony, who used for its beginnings a sum of money obtained from the sale of Indulgences some years before, and retained in the country. The university in practice belonged to the Augustinian Eremites,

lancthon, in loc: com loco deconjugio.[1] Calvin, l. 4. Institu. c. 4. sect. 15.[2] Junious de politia Moyses, thes. 29. and 30.[3] Hen: Bulin: Decad. 3. sermo. 8.[4] Wolf: Muscu. loc: com: in · 6 · precepti explicaci:[5] Bucer de regno Christi, l. · 2 · c. · 17 ·[6] Theo: Beza, vol: 1. de hereti: puniendis, fol. 154.[7] Zanch: in 3. precept:[8] Ursin: Pt. 4. explicat.[9] contra John. Piscat: in Aphorismi loc. de lege dei aphorism · 17 ·[10] And more might be added. I forbear, for brevities sake, to set downe their very words; this being the constante and generall oppinion of the best devines, I will rest in this as undoubtedly true, though much more might be said to confirme it.

2. That all the sinnes mentioned in the question were punished with death by the judiciall law of Moyses, as adultry, Levit: 20. 10.

and to it Luther came in 1508, to teach the Dialectic and Physics of Aristotle and to preach.

[1] Probably this refers to Melanchthon's *Defensio Conivgii Sacerdotum pia et erudita*, first printed in 1540, and again in 1561, with the title *De Conivgio piae commonefactiones collectae a Philippo Melanthone.*

[2] This book and chapter of the *Institutes* treat of "De statu veteris Ecclesiae et ratione gubernandi quae in usu fuit ante Papatum."

[3] Franciscus Junius [François du Jon] (1545–1602), issued, in 1578, the first part of a translation into Latin of the Old Testament. The title mentioned in Bradford is *De Politicae Mosis Observatione, quid in populo Dei observari, quid non observari ex ea oportet, postquam gratia et veritas per Christum facta est, et Evangelio promulgata, etc.* Lugduni Batavorum, 1593.

[4] Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575), *Sermonum decades quinque, de potissimis Christianae religionis capitibus, in tres tomos digestae.* Tiguri, 1557. An English translation appeared in 1557, and it is included in the issues of the Parker Society, 1849.

[5] Wolfgang Musculus [Müsslein or Meusslin] (1497–1563), *Loci communes Sacrae Theologiae, jam recensa recogniti et emendati.* Basileae, 1573.

[6] Martin Bucer (1491–1550?), *De regno Christi Jesu.* Basileae, 1577.

[7] Théodore de Bèze (1519–1605), *De Haereticis a Ciuili Magistratu puniendis libellus, aduersus M. Bellii farraginem, et nouorum Academicorum sectam.* [Geneva?], 1554.

[8] Girolamo Zanchi (1516–1590), professor of theology at Heidelberg, and a voluminous writer on theology.

[9] Zacharias Ursinus (1534–1583), *Corpus doctrinae orthodoxae*, Geneva, 1612, of which an English translation by H. Parry appeared in 1645. Three volumes of *Ursini . . . Opera theologica*, appeared in Heidelberg in 1612.

[10] Johann Piscator, of Herborn, *Aphorismi Doctrinae Christianae ex Institutione Calvini excerpti.* An English version was printed in 1596.

Deut: 22. 22. Ecech: 16. 38. Jhon. 8. 5. which is to be understood not only of double adultrie, when as both parties are maried, (as some conceive,) but whosoever (besides her husband) lyes with a married woman, whether the man be maried or not, as in the place, Deut: 22. 22. or whosoever, being a maried man, lyeth with another woman (besides his wife), as P. Martire[1] saith, loc: com: which in diverce respects makes the sine worse on the maried mans parte; for the Lord in this law hath respect as well to publick honesty, (the sin being so prejudicall to the church and state,) as the private wrongs (saith Junious). So incest is to be punished with death, Levit: 20. 11. 22 [21]. Beastiality likwise, Lev: 20. 15. Exod: 22. 19. Rapes in like maner, Deut: 22. 15 [25]. Sodomie in like sort, Levit: 18. 22. and 20. 13. And all presumptuous sins, Numb: 15. 30. 31.[2]

3. That the punishmente of these foule sines with death is grounded on the law of nature, and is agreable to the morall law. (1.) Because the reasons annexed shew them to be perpetuall. Deut. 22. 22. So shalt thou put away evill. Incest, beastiality, are caled confusion, and wickednes. (2.) Infamie to the whole humane nature, Levit: 22 [20]. 12. Levit: 18. 23. Rapes are as murder, Deut: 22. 25. Sodomie is an abomination, Levit: 22 [18]·22·[247] No holier and juster laws can be devised by any man or angele then have been by the Judge of all the world, the wisdome of the Father, by whom kings doe raigne, etc. (3.) Because, before the giving of the Law, this punishmente was anciently practised, Gen: 26. 11. 38. 29 [24?]·39·20. and even by the heathen, by the very light of nature, as P. Martire shews. (4ly.) Because the land is defiled by shuch sins, and spews out the inhabitants, Levit: 18. 24, 25. and that in regard of those nations that were not acquainted with the law of Moyses. 5. All the devines above speci-

[1] Pietro Martire Vermigli (1500–1562), known as Peter Martyr. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, LVIII. 253. The reference in the text is to his *Loci Communes sacrarum Literarum*, published at Zürich in 1563, and in English in 1583.

[2] "But the person that doeth ought presumptuously, whether he be borne in the land, or a stranger, the same blasphemeth the Lord: therefore that person shall be cut off from among his people.

"Because he hath despised the word of the Lord, and hath broken his commandement: that person shall be utterly cut off: his iniquitie shall be upon him."

fied consent in this, that the unclean acts punishable with death by the law of God are not only the grose acts of uncleannes by way of carnall copulation, but all the evidente attempts therof, which may appeare by those severall words that are used by the spirite of God, expressing the sins to be punished with death; as the discovering of nakednes, Levit: 18. 20. which is retegere pudenda, as parts per euphemismum (saith Junius), or detegere ad cubandum (saith Willett[1]), to uncover the shamefull parts of the body (saith Ainsworth[2]), which, though it reaches to the grose acts, yet it is plaine it doth comprehend the other foregoing immodest attempts, as contactum, fricationem, etc.; likwise the phrase of lying with, so often used, doth not only signifie carnall copulation, but other obscure [obscene?] acts, preceding the same, is implyed in Pauls word ἀρσενοκοῖται, 1. Cor: 6. 9. and men lying with men, 1. Tim: 1. 9 [10]. men defiling them selves with mankind, men burning with lust towards men, Rom: 1. 26. and Levit: 8 [18.] 22. sodomy and sin going after strange flesh, Jud: v[erses]. 7. 8. and lying with mankind as with a woman, Levit: 18. 22. Abulentis[3] says that it signifies omnes modos quibus masculus masculo abutatur, changing the naturall use into that which is against nature, Rom: 1. 26. arogare sibi cubare, as Junius well translates Levit: 20. 15. to give consente to lye withall, so approaching to a beast, and lying downe therto, Levit: 20. 16. ob solum contiẽ[conatū] (saith Willett) or for going about to doe it. Add to this a notable speech of Zepperus de legibus[4] (who hath enough to end controversies of this nature). L. 1. he saith: In crimine adulterii voluntas (understanding manifeste) sine effectu subsecuto de jure attenditur; and he proves it out of good laws, in these words: solicitations [solicitatores] alienum nuptiam itemque matrimonium interpellatores, etsi effectu sceleris potiri non possunt, propter voluntatem tamen perni-

[1] Andrew Willet (1562–1621), whose writings are listed in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, LXI. 288.

[2] Henry Ainsworth.

[3] Abulentis. Probably Alonso des Tostado, bishop of Avila, who wrote in thirteen volumes *Commentaria in Pentateuchum*, printed in Venice, in 1596.

[4] Wilhelm Zepper, *Legum Mosaicarum forensium Explanatio.* Herbornae Nassoviorum, 1604.

ciosæ libid[i]nis extra ordinem puniuntur; nam generale est quidem effectum sine effectu [non] puniri, sed contrarium observatur in atrocioribus et horum similibus.

5. In concluding punishments from the judiciall law of Moyses that is perpetuall, we must often proceed by analogicall proportion and interpretation, as a paribus similibus, minore ad majus, etc.; for ther will still fall out some cases, in every commone-wealth, which are not in so many words extante in holy write, yet the substance of the matter in every kind (I conceive under correction) may be drawne and concluded out of the scripture by good consequence of an equevalent nature; as, for example, ther is no express law against destroying conception in the wombe by potions, yet by anologie with Exod: 21. 22, 23. we may reason that life is to be given for life. Againe, the question, An contactus et fricatio, etc., and methinks that place Gen: 38. 9. in the punishmente of Onans sin, may give some cleare light to it; it was (saith Pareus[1]) beluina crudelitas quam Deus pari loco cum parricidio habuit, nam semen corrumpere, quid fuit aliud quam hominem ex semine generandum occidere? Propterea juste a Deo occisus est. Observe his words. And againe, Discamus quantopere Deus abominetur omnem seminis genitalis abusum, illicitam effusionem, et corruptionem, etc., very pertinente to this case. That allso is considerable, Deut: 25. 11, 12. God comanded that, if any wife drue nigh to deliver her husband out of the hand of him that smiteth him, etc., her hand should be cutt off. Yet shuch a woman in that case might say much for her selfe, that what she did was in trouble and perplexitie of her minde, and in her husbands defence; yet her hand must be cutt of for shuch impuritie (and this is morall, as I conceive). Then we may reason from the less to the greater, what greevous sin in the sight of God it is, by the instigation of burning lusts, set on fire of hell, to proceede to contactum and fricationem ad emissionem seminis, etc., and that contra naturam, or to attempte the grosse acts of unnaturall filthines. Againe, if that unnaturall lusts of men with men, or woman with woman, or either with beasts, be to be punished with death, then

[1] David Pareus (1548–1622), whose German name was Wängler, was professor of theology at Heidelberg.

a pari naturall lusts of men towards children under age are so to be punished.

6. Circumstantiæ variant vis e actuines, (saith the lawiers,) and circomstances in these cases cannot possibly be all reck[o]ned up; but God hath given laws for those causes and cases that are of greatest momente, by which others are to be judged of, as in the differance betwixte chanc[e] medley, and willfull murder; so in the sins of uncleannes, it is one thing to doe an acte of uncleannes by sudden temptation, and another to lye in waite for it, yea, to make a commune practise of it; this mightily augments and multiplies the sin. Againe, some sinnes of this nature are simple, others compound, as that is simple adultrie, or inceste, or simple sodomie; but when ther is a mixture of diverce kinds of lust, as when adultery and sodomie and perditio seminis goe togeather in the same acte of uncleannes, this is capitall, double, and trible. Againe, when adultrie or sodomie is commited by professors or church members, I fear it comes too near the sine of the preists daughters, forbidden, and comanded to be punished, Levit: 21. 9. besides the presumption of the sinnes of shuch. Againe, when uncleannes is comited with those whose chastity they are bound to preserve, this comes very nere the incestious copulation, I feare; but I must hasten to the other questions. [248]

2. Question the second, upon the pointe of examination, how farr a magistrate may extracte a confession from a delinquente to accuse him selfe in a capitall crime, seeing Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum.

Ans: The words of the question may be understood of extracting a confession from a delinquente either by oath or bodily tormente. If it be mente of extracting by requiring an oath, (ex officio, as some call it,) and that in capitall crimes, I fear it is not safe, nor warented by Gods word, to extracte a confession from a delinquente by an oath in matters of life and death. (1.) Because the practise in the Scriptures is other wise, as in the case of Achan, Jos: 7. 9 [19]. Give, I pray you, glorie to the Lord God of Israll, and make a confession to him, and tell me how thou hast done. He did not compell him to sweare. So when as Johnathans life was indangered, 1. Sam. 14. 43. Saule said unto Johnathan, Tell me what thou hast done; he did not require an oath. And notable is that, Jer: 38. 14. Jeremiah was charged by

Zedechias, who said, I will aske the a thing, hide it not from me; and Jeremiah said, If I declare it unto ye, wilt thou not surely put me to death? impl[y]ing that, in case of death, he would have refused to answer him. (2.) Reason shews it, and experience; Job: 2. 4. Skin for skin, etc. It is to be feared that those words (what soever a man hath) will comprehend also the conscience of an oath, and the fear of God, and all care of religion; therfore for laying a snare before the guiltie, I think it ought not to be donn. But now, if the question be mente of inflicting bodyly torments to extracte a confession from a mallefactor, I conceive that in maters of higest consequence, shuch as doe conceirne the saftie or ruine of states or countries, magistrates may proceede so farr to bodily torments, as racks, hote-irons, etc., to extracte a confession, espetially wher presumptions are strounge; but otherwise by no means. God sometimes hides a sinner till his wickednes is filled up.

Question 3. In what cases of capitall crimes, one witnes with other circumstances shall be sufficente to convicte, or is ther no conviction without ·2· witneses?

Ans: Deut: 19. 25 [15]. God hath given an express rule that in no case one witness shall arise in judgmente, espetially not in capitall cases God would not put our lives into the power of any one tounge. Besides, by the examination of more wittneses agreeing or disagreeing, any falshood ordenarilly may be discovered; but this is to be understood of one witnes of another; but if a man witnes against him selfe, his owne testimony is sufficente, as in the case of the Amalakite, 2. Sam: 1. 16. Againe, when ther are sure and certaine signes and evidences by circumstances, ther needs no witnes in this case, as in the bussines of Adoniah desiring Abishage the Shunamite to wife, that therby he might make way for him selfe unto the kingdome, 1. King: 2. 23, 24. Againe, probably by many concurring circumstances, if probabillity may have the strength of a witnes, somthing may be this way gathered, me thinks, from Sallomons judging betweexte the true mother, and the harlote, 1. King. 3. 25. Lastly, I see no cause why in waighty matters, in defecte of witneses and other proofes, we may not have recourse to a lott, as in the case of Achan, Josu: 7. 16. which is a clearer way in shuch doubtfull cases (it being solemnely and religiously

performed) then any other that I know, if it be made the last refuge. But all this under correction.

The Lord in mercie directe and prosper the desires of his servants that desire to walk before him in truth and righteousnes in the administration of justice, and give them wisdome and largnes of harte.

CHARLES CHAUNCY.

Besides the occation before mentioned in these writings concerning the abuse of those ·2· children, they had aboute the same time a case of buggerie fell out amongst them, which occasioned these questions, to which these answers have been made.

And after the time of the writing of these things befell a very sadd accidente of the like foule nature in this govermente, this very year, which I shall now relate. Ther was a youth whose name was Thomas Granger; he was servant to an honest man of Duxbery,[1] being aboute ·16· or ·17· years of age. (His father and mother lived at the same time at Sityate.) He was this year detected of buggery (and indicted for the same) with a mare, a cowe, tow goats, five sheep, ·2· calves, and a turkey. Horrible [249] it is to mention, but the truth of the historie requires it. He was first discovered by one that accidentally saw his lewd practise towards the mare. (I forbear perticulers.) Being upon it examined and committed, in the end he not only confest the fact with that beast at that time, but sundrie times before, and at severall times with all the rest of the forenamed in his indictmente; and this his free-confession was not only in private to the magistrates, (though at first he strived to deney it,) but to sundrie, both ministers and others, and afterwards, upon his indictemente, to the whole court and jury; and confirmed it at his execution. And wheras some of the sheep could not so well be knowne by his description of them, others with them were brought before him, and he declared which were they, and which were not. And accordingly he was cast by the jury, and con-

[1] Love Brewster, a son of the Elder.

demned, and after executed about the ·8· of Sept[ember,] 1642.[1] A very sade spectakle it was; for first the mare, and then the cowe, and the rest of the lesser catle, were kild before his face, according to the law, Levit: 20 .15. and then he him selfe was executed. The catle were all cast into a great and large pitte that was digged of purposs for them, and no use made of any part of them.

Upon the examenation of this person, and also of a former that had made some sodomiticall attempts upon another, it being demanded of them how they came first to the knowledge and practice of shuch wickednes, the one confessed he had long used it in old England; and this youth last spoaken of said he was taught it by an other that had heard of shuch things from some in England when he was ther, and they kept catle togeather. By which it appears how one wicked person may infecte many; and what care all ought to have what servants they bring into their families.

But it may be demanded how came it to pass that so many wicked persons and profane people should so quickly come over into this land, and mixe them selves amongst them? seeing it was religious men that begane the work, and they came for religions sake. I confess this may be marveilled at, at least in time to come, when the reasons therof should not be knowne; and the more because here was so many hardships and wants mett withall. I shall therfore indeavor to give some answer hereunto. 1. And first, according to that in the gospell, it is ever to be remembred that wher the Lord begins to sow good seed, ther the envious man will endeavore to sow tares. 2. Men being to come over into a wildernes, in which much labour and servise was to be done aboute building and planting, etc., shuch as wanted help in that respecte, when they could not have shuch as they would, were glad to take shuch as they could; and so, many untoward servants, sundry of

[1] The criminal was hanged. He left a wife and children. The account of John Holmes, messenger, showed items as follows: "For x weeks dyett for Granger £1., and for executing Granger and viij beasts, £2.10.0." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, II. 51.

them proved, that were thus brought over, both men and women kind; who, when their times were expired, became families of them selves, which gave increase hereunto. 3. An other and a maine reason hearof was, that men, finding so many godly disposed persons willing to come into these parts, some begane to make a trade of it, to transeport passengers and their goods, and hired ships for that end; and then, to make up their fraight and advance their profite, cared not who the persons were, so they had money to pay them. And by this means the cuntrie became pestered with many unworthy persons, who, being come over, crept into one place or other. 4. Againe, the Lords blesing usually following his people, as well in outward as spirituall things, (though afflictions be mixed withall,) doe make many to adhear to the people of God, as many followed Christ, for the loaves sake, John 6. 26. and a mixed multitud came into the willdernes with the people of God out of Eagipte of old, Exod. 12. 38. 5. So allso many were sente by their freinds some under hope that they would be made better; others that they might be eased of shuch burthens, and they kept from shame at home that would necessarily follow their dissolute courses. And thus, by one means or other, in ·20· years time, it is a question whether the greater part be not growne the worser? [250]

I am now come to the conclusion of that long and tedious bussines betweene the partners hear, and them in England, the which I shall manifest by their owne letters as followeth, in shuch parts of them as are pertinente to the same.

Mr. Sherleys to Mr. Attwood.

Mr. Attwood, my approved loving freind: Your letter of the 18. of October last I have received, wherin I find you have taken a great deall of paines and care aboute that troublesome bussines betwixte our Plimoth partners and freinds, and us hear, and have deeply ingaged your selfe, for which complements and words are no reall satisfaction, etc. For the agreemente you have made with Mr. Brad-

ford, Mr. Winslow, and the rest of the partners ther, considering how honestly and justly I am perswaded they have brought in an accounte of the remaining stock, for my owne parte I am well satisfied, and so I thinke is Mr. Andrewes, and I supose will be Mr. Beachampe, if most of it might acrew to him, to whom the least is due, etc. And now for peace sake, and to conclude as we began, lovingly and freindly, and to pass by all failings of all, the conclude is accepted of; I say this agreemente that you have made is condesended unto, and Mr. Andrews hath sent his release to Mr. Winthrop, with shuch directions as he conceives fitt; and I have made bould to trouble you with mine, and we have both sealed in the presence of *Mr. Weld*, and *Mr. Peeters*, and some others, and I have also sente you an other, for the partners ther, to seale to me;[1] for you must not deliver mine to them, excepte they seale and deliver one to me; this is fitt and equall, etc. Yours to command in what I may or can,

Sir. yr forbard m Chr: Jes
to Comd Tho: Weld

JAMES SHERLEY.

June 14. 1642.

His to the partners as followeth.

LOVING FREINDS,

Mr. Bradford, Mr. Winslow, Mr. Prence, Captaine Standish, Mr. Brewster, Mr. Alden, and Mr. Howland, give me leave to joyne you

[1] In 1641 the changes in political England, and notably the executions of Laud and Strafford, and the unseating of the bishops, rendered it possible for those persecuted for nonconformity to return, living in safety. Invitations to return had been received by some of the Massachusetts divines; but a compliance would, under the circumstances, have involved a complete submission to Parliament; for if the authority and protection of Parliament were thus recognized, it would be difficult to question them in other respects. Yet the opportunity to carry into disorganized England the principles and practices of the New England way of church government, led to the appointment of three commissioners from the Bay. They were to go to England, explain the situation of the plantations, obtain some commercial advantage, and collect funds for the college. The three thus selected were Hugh Peter, Thomas Weld and William Hibbins. Leaving in August, 1641, their presence in England was utilized for making this final agreement between the English and the Plymouth partners.

all in one letter, concerning the finall end and conclude of that tedious and troublesome bussines, and I thinke I may truly say uncomfurtable and unprofitable to all, etc. It hath pleased God now to put us upon a way to sease all suits, and disquieting of our spirites, and to conclude with peace and love, as we began. I am contented to yeeld and make good what Mr. Attwood and you have agreed upon; and for that end have sente to my loving freind, Mr. Attwood, an absolute and generall release unto you all, and if ther wante any thing to make it more full, write it your selves, and it shall be done, provided that all you, either joyntly or severally, seale the like discharge to me. And for that end I have drawne one joyntly, and sent it to Mr. Attwood, with that I have sealed to you. Mr. Andrews hath sealed an aquitance also, and sent it to Mr. Winthrop, whith shuch directions as he conceived fitt, and, as I hear, hath given his debte, which he makes 544*li.* unto the gentlemen of the Bay. Indeed, Mr. *Welld*, Mr. *Peters*, and Mr. *Hibbens* have taken a great deale of paines with Mr. Andrews, Mr. Beachamp, and my selfe, to bring us to agree, and to that end we have had many meetings and spent much time aboute it. But as they are very religious and honest gentle-men, yet they had an end that they drove at and laboured to accomplish (I meane not any private end, but for the generall good of their patente). It had been very well you had sent one over. Mr. Andrew wished you might have one .3. parte of the 1200*li.* and the Bay·2·thirds; but then we·3· must have agreed togeather, which were a hard mater now.[1] But Mr. Weld, Mr.

[1] Andrewes, in 1639 (p. 289, *supra*), had made over to Massachusetts Bay a part of the debt owed them by Plymouth. There was at that time little prospect of recovering any considerable portion of this amount; there was now, however, a reasonable hope of so doing; but it appears from Bradford's statements that the London partners of Andrewes had already received from Plymouth several fold of what was properly their due. In the settlement imposed on the Plymouth people they had dealt most unfairly, making good at the cost of the plantation their losses on all unfortunate ventures and speculations. They had in fact exacted from Plymouth all they could. Though nothing was really due the English partners, yet in the final negotiations the Plymouth people seem to have been willing to pay £1200 for an acquittance in full. Under such circumstances a direct representative might have exerted himself effectively to obtain a reduction of this sum, and Sherley, perhaps sincerely, expressed regret that no such representative of Plymouth was

Peters, and Mr. Hibbens, and I, have agreed, they giving you bond (so to compose with Mr. Beachamp, as) to procure his generall release, and free you from all trouble and charge that he may put you too; which indeed is nothing, for I am perswaded Mr. Weld will in time gaine him to give them all that is dew to [251] him, which in some sorte is granted allready; for though his demands be great, yet Mr. Andrewes hath taken some paines in it, and makes it appear to be less then I thinke he will consente to give them for so good an use; so you neede not fear, that for taking bond ther to save you harmles, you be safe and well. Now our accord is, that you must pay to the gentle-men of the Bay 900*li.*; they are to bear all charges that may any way arise concerning the free and absolute clearing of you from us three. And you to have the other 300*li.* etc.[1]

Upon the receiving of my release from you, I will send you your bonds for the purchass money. I would have sent them now, but I would have Mr. Beachamp release as well as I, because you are bound to him in them. Now I know if a man be bound to·10·men, if one release, it is as if all released, and my discharge doth cutt them of;

present. The three men from the Bay made no effort to reduce the amount, or to secure the greater benefit for the Plymouth plantation. They obtained three fourths for the Bay and only one fourth for Plymouth. And in the event an additional £44 were charged against the latter. From the first agreement to pay £1800 to the final closing of the transaction, the record shows the Plymouth people passively submitting to a manifest fraud perpetrated on them.

[1] Winthrop correctly attributes this gift, or transfer to the Bay of a part of the Plymouth debt, to the efforts of the three Bay commissioners. To him Andrewes, a haberdasher in Cheapside, London, was a "godly man, and who had been a former benefactor to this country." The money was to be laid out in cattle, and other course of trade, for the poor. The earlier benefit consisted in a gift in 1634 of sixteen heifers, one for each minister and the rest to the poor. *History*, I. *136; II. *75. In October, 1642, the General Court appointed Richard Bellingham, Captain Cooke and Lieutenant Duncan to go to Plymouth to make arrangements for the payment of the debt, and the terms exacted are given by Bradford. *Mass. Col. Rec.*, II. 32. The manner of payment was also noticeable. The "specialties" received were a note "of Mr. Bradford and company for 333. 6. 8d, Mr. Atwoods byll for 36l, Mr. Hills byll for 20. 13. 4d, and the present Governor's [Winthrop] byll for 100l; also a note for 44l. 9shs. more (if it bee not cleared to the satisfaction of Mr. Andros [Andrewes]) was delivered in." *Ib.* 39.

wherfore doubte you not but you shall have them, and your commission, or any thing els that is fitt. Now you know ther is two years of the purchass money, that I would not owne, for I have formerley certified you that I would but pay 7. years; but now you are discharged of all, etc.

Your loving and kind friend in what I may or can,

JAMES SHERLEY.

June 14. 1642.

The coppy of his release is as followeth.

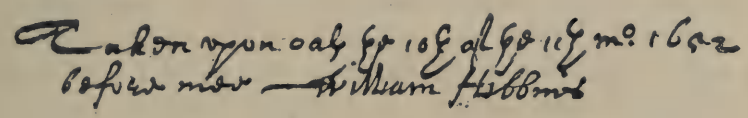
Wheras diverce questions, differences, and demands have arisen and depended betweene William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, Mylest Standish, William Brewster, John Allden, and John Howland, gent: now or latly inhabitants or resident at New-Plimoth, in New-England, on the one party, and James Sherley of London, marchante, and others, in th' other parte, for and concerning a stocke and partable trade of beaver and other comodities, and fraighting of ships, as the White Angell, Frindship, or others, and the goods of Isaack Allerton which were seazed upon by vertue of a leter of atturney made by the said James Sherley and John Beachamp and Richard Andrews, or any other maters concerning the said trade, either hear in Old-England or ther in New-England or else wher, all which differences are since by mediation of freinds composed, compremissed, and all the said parties agreed. Now know all men by these presents, that I, the said James Sherley, in performance of the said compremise and agreemente, have remised, released, and quite claimed, and doe by these presents remise, release, and for me, myne heires, executors, and Administrators, and for every of us, for ever quite claime unto the said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, Myles Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, and John Howland, and every of them, their and every of their heires, executors, and administrators, all and all maner of actions, suits, debts, accounts, rekonings, comissions, bonds, bills, specialties, judgments, executions, claimes, challinges, differences, and demands what soever, with or against the said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, Myles

Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, and John Howland, or any of them, ever I had, now have, or in time to come can, shall, or may have, for any mater, cause, or thing whatsoever from the begining of the world untill the day of the date of these presents. In witnes wherof I have hereunto put my hand and seale, given the second day of June, 1642, and in the eighteenth year of the raigne of our soveraigne lord, king Charles, etc.

JAMES SHERLEY.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of
THOMAS WELD,
HUGH PETERS,
WILLIAM HIBBINS.
ARTHUR TIRREY, Scr.
THO: STURGES, his servante.

Mr. Andrews his discharge was to the same effecte; he was by agreemente to have 500*li.* of the money, the which he gave to them in the Bay, who brought his discharge and demanded the money.



And they tooke in his release and paid the money according to agreemente, viz. one third of the 500*li.* they paid downe in hand, and the rest in 4. equall payments, to be paid yearly, for which they gave their bonds. And wheras 44*li.* was more demanded, they conceived they could take it of with Mr. Andrews, and therfore it was not in the bonde. [252] But Mr. Beachamp would not parte with any of his, but demanded 400*li.* of the partners here, and sent a release to a friend, to deliver it to them upon the receite of the money. But his relese was not perfecte, for he had left out some of the partners names, with some other defects; and besides, the other gave them to understand he had not near so much due. So no end was made with him till 4. years after; of which in it[s] plase. And in

that regard, that them selves did not agree, I shall inserte some part of Mr. Andrews leter, by which he conceives the partners here were wronged, as followeth. This letter of his was write to Mr. *Edmond Freeman, brother in law* to Mr. *Beachamp*.[1]

Mr. Freeman,

My love remembred unto you, etc. I then certified the partners how I found Mr. Beachamp and Mr. Sherley, in their perticuler demands, which was according to mens principles, of getting what they could; allthough the one will not shew any accounte, and the other a very unfaire and unjust one; and both of them discouraged me from sending the partners my accounte, Mr. Beachamp espetially. Their reason, I have cause to conceive, was, that allthough I doe not, nor ever intended to, wrong the partners or the bussines, yet, if I gave no accounte, I might be esteemed as guiltie as they, in some degree at least; and they might seeme to be the more free from taxation in not delivering their accounts, who have both of them charged the accounte with much intrest they have payed forth, and one of them would likwise for much intrest he hath not paid forth, as appeareth by his accounte, etc. And seeing the partners have now made it appear that ther is 1200*li.* remaining due between us all, and that it may appear by my accounte I have not charged the bussines with any intrest, but doe forgive it unto the partners, above 200*li.* if Mr. Sherley and Mr. Beachamp, who have betweene them wronged the business so many 100*li.* both in principall and intrest likwise, and have therin wronged me as well and as much as any of the partners; yet if they will not make and deliver faire and true accounts of the same, nor be contente to take what by computation is more then can be justly due to either, that is, to Mr. Beachamp 150*li.* as by Mr. Allertons accounte, and Mr.

[1] Edmund Freeman came in the *Abigail*, 1635, and settled at Lynn (Saugus). Two years later he became a freeman of New Plymouth, and with ten associates obtained "liberty to view a place to sitt downe and haue sufficient lands for three score famylies, vpon the condic̃ons propounded to them by the Gouernor and Mr. Winslowe." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 53, 57. This settlement, on territory known by the Indians as Shawme, was incorporated as the town of Sandwich, in 1639. In the same year, one of Freeman's daughters, Alice, married William Paddy. See p. 303, *supra*.

EDMOND FREEMAN, 1645.

Sherleys accounte, on oath in chancerie; and though ther might be nothing due to Mr. Sherley, yet he requires 100*li.*, etc. I conceive, seing the partners have delivered on their oaths the summe remaining in their hands, that they may justly detaine the 650*li.* which may remain in theire hands, after I am satisfied, untill Mr. Sherley and Mr. Beachamp will be more fair and just in their ending, etc. And as I intend, if the partners fayrly end with me, in satis[fy]ing in parte and ingaging them selves for the rest of my said 544*li.* to returne back for the poore my parte of the land at Sityate,[1] so likwise I intend to relinquish my right and intrest in their dear patente, on which much of our money was laid forth, and also my right and intrest in the cheap purchass, the which may have cost me first and last 350*li.*[2] But I doubte whether other men have not charged or taken on accounte what they have disbursed in the like case, which I have not charged, neither did I conceive any other durst so doe, untill I saw the accounte of the one and heard the words of the other; the which gives me just cause to suspecte both their accounts to be unfaire; for it seemeth they cunsulted one with another aboute some perticulers therin. Therfore I conceive the partners ought the rather to require just accounts from each of them before they parte with any money to either of them. For marchants understand how to give an acounte; if they mean fairley, they will not deney to give an accounte, for they keep memorialls to helpe them to give exacte acounts in all perticulers, and memoriall cannot forget his charge, if the man will remember.

I desire not to wrong Mr. Beachamp or Mr. Sherley, nor may be silente in shuch apparente probabilities of their wronging the partners, and me likwise, either in deneying to deliver or shew any accounte,

[1] The land granted and reserved for the four London merchants by the General Court in 1633, and later known as the Conihasset grant, lay in the town of Scituate, and because of the ill-defined bounds thereof and the disputes therefrom arising, this land occasioned much subsequent trouble and litigation. Hatherley bought the rights of the other three before 1646, and, dividing it into thirty shares, he sold three-fourths of them for £180 to a company of which Charles Chauncy was a member. What settlement Hatherley made with his London partners is not on record. Deane, *History of Scituate*, 5.

[2] This he means of the first adventures, all which were lost, as hath before been shown; and what he here writes is probable at least.— Bradford.

or in delivering one very unjuste in some perticulers, and very suspitious in many more; either of which, being from understanding marchants, cannot be from weaknes or simplisitie, and therfore the more unfaire. So comending you and yours, and all the Lord's people, unto the gratious protection and blessing of the Lord, and rest your loving friend,

RICHARD ANDREWES.

Aprill 7. 1643.[1]

[1] Referring in this letter only to the devious business practices of Beauchamp and Sherley, Andrewes felt he had also grounds of complaint against the Plymouth people. To this he gave expression in his letters to Winthrop. Writing from Rotterdam, in January, 1644–45, apparently in reply to some doubt expressed by Winthrop on the prospect of payment by Plymouth, he said:

"Whereas you seem to conceive little hope of receiving satisfaction from the partners of Plymouth for me, until Mr. Sherley and Mr. Bechamp and myself do agree, of which I conceive less if any hope, by reason of the partners and Mr. Sherley subtly plotted end, if not Mr. Bechamp's head or hand was there also, of which I formerly informed you, and several other the partners' unfair and unjust dealings with me by my late former letters, the which might the more plainly appear by the copies of two of Mr. Ed. Winslow's letters sent therewith, of which or any others I cannot now mention particulars, but their dealings with me for several years seem so apparently unjust and unfair unto me in several particulars, that if they have not given the better satisfaction for me before the next opportunity I may have of sending, I pray be pleased to certify them that they must not take it ill, if I call them publickly to account for several their dealings towards me, which are very much unbeseeming fair dealing men, who make not so much profession to walk according to the rule of the gospel as they, and yet answer not the same, in not dealing with others, as they would that others should deal with them. I hope twice seven years time is long enough to keep my money before they return the principal, and that if either law or conscience bear sway in New England, they shall not be suffered to keep my money remaining in their hands more years upon both false and frivolous pretences, and be accounted men answering their profession. I did once before entreat your worship to certify Mr. Ed. Winslow and the rest in private, of some evil dealings I conceived fit to call some of them to account for, the which I have yet forborne, of which I would wish them to consider, whether I have not now just cause to call them to account how far they can free themselves of my then charge to some other in regard of what remaineth due to me from them, and if there have not been the like endeavours therein, or for part thereof, and let not the partners by longer unjust delays aggravate their unjust and unfair dealings, lest it come heavily on them at the last. I did order Mr. Ed. Winslow, several years since, to deliver your worship my stock of four cows and two calves, with

Reigat mod

London the 8th of July 1639.

This leter was write the year after the agreement, as doth appear; and what his judgmente was herein, the contents doth manifest, and so I leave it to the equall judgmente of any to consider, as they see cause.

Only I shall adde what Mr. Sherley furder write in a leter of his, about the same time, and so leave this bussines. His is as followeth on the other side.[1] [253]

LOVING FREINDS, Mr. BRADFORD, Mr. WINSLOW, Cap: STANDISH, Mr. PRENCE, and the rest of the partners with you; I shall write this generall leter to you all, hoping it will be a good conclude of a generall, but a costly and tedious bussines I thinke to all, I am sure to me, etc.

half their increase, to be disposed among the poor of your plantation, but have not heard either from him or yourself what is done therein; wherefore having some occasion of writing to Mr. William Pinchon, I entreated him to enquire and to certify me, and to be assistant to your worships in the prosecution of the partners for the satisfying of what remains due on my account, because I conceive your worships have so many other occasions that it may be some ease to you therein. I have been here at Rotterdam almost one year and a half, since I last came hither, and it may be may not see either Mr. Sherley or Mr. Bechamp in several years more; but if I did, will not so end as to make myself seem guilty with them of doing the partners such injuries as they complain of, that Mr. Sherley and Mr. Bechamp may seem the less guilty therein, which seems to me to be one main end in regard of them two in the endeavoured plotted end, yet the partners may have several other ends to themselves therein likewise." 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, I. 21. That Andrewes could have been so completely misinformed as to the relations really existing between the partners is improbable. Only a few years before, he had acted with Beauchamp against Sherley, and must then, presumably, have been well advised as to the operations of the partnership.

In February or March, 1644–45, Andrewes appears to have been interested in a vessel then being fitted out for a voyage to Massachusetts Bay. "Mr. Weld and I were agreed soe soone as Mr. [Thomas] Graves shipp should be gone hence to cleare the Account with Maior [Nehemiah] Boorne, but I am prevented by his suddaine and vnexpected goeing away with Mr. Graves. Mr. Bourne told us that he would be ready to goe with vs in Mr. Andrewes shipp, soe that I much marveyled at his goeing with Mr. Graves, he having putt in his name to be an vndertaker in Mr. Andrewes shippe." *Emanuel Downing to John Winthrop, Jr.*, March 3, 1644–45. 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 63.

[1] "Being the conclusion, as will be seen, of page 252 of the original." DEANE.

I received from Mr. Winslow a letter of the 28. of Sept[ember] last, and so much as concernes the generall bussines I shall answer in this, not knowing whether I shall have opportunitie to write perticuler letters, etc. I expected more letters from you all, as some perticuler writes, but it seemeth no fitt opportunity was offered. And now, though the bussines for the maine may stand, yet some perticulers is alltered; I say my former agreemente with Mr. Weld and Mr. Peters, before the[y] could conclude or gett any grante of Mr. Andrews, they sought to have my release; and ther upon they sealed me a bond for a 110*li.* So I sente my acquittance, for they said without mine ther would be no end made (and ther was good reason for it). Now they hoped, if they ended with me, to gaine Mr. Andrews parte, as they did holy, to a pound, (at which I should wonder, but that I observe some passages,) and they also hoped to have gotten Mr. Beachamps part, and I did thinke he would have given it them. But if he did well understand him selfe, and that acounte, he would give it; for his demands make a great sound.[1] But it seemeth he would not parte with it, supposing it too greate a sume, and that he might easily gaine it from you. Once he would have given them 40*li.* but now they say he will not doe that, or rather I suppose they will not take it; for if they doe, and have Mr. Andrewses, then they must pay me their bond of 110*li*·3·months hence. Now it will fall out farr better for you, that they deal not with Mr. Beachamp, and also for me, if you be as kind to me as I have been and will be to you; and that thus, if you pay Mr. Andrews, or the Bay men, by his order, 544*li.* which is his full demande; but if looked into, perhaps might be less. The man is honest, and in my conscience would not wittingly doe wronge, yett he may forgett as well as other men; and Mr. Winslow may call to minde wherin he forgetts; (but some times it is good to buy peace.) The gentle-men of the Bay may abate 100*li.* and so both sides have more right and justice then if they exacte all, etc. Now if you send me a 150*li.* then say Mr. Andrews full sume, and this, it is nere 700*li.* Mr. Beachamp he demands 400*li.* and we all know that, if a man demands money, he

[1] This was a misterie to them, for they heard nothing hereof from any side the last year, till now the conclution was past, and bonds given. — BRADFORD.

must shew wherfore, and make proofe of his debte; which I know he can never make good proafe of one hunderd pound dew unto him as principall money; so till he can, you have good reason to keep the 500*li.* etc. This I proteste I write not in malice against Mr. Beachamp, for it is a reall truth. You may partly see it by Mr. Andrews making up his accounte, and I think you are all perswaded I can say more then Mr. Andrews concerning that accounte. I wish I could make up my owne as plaine and easily, but because of former discontents, I will be sparing till I be called; and you may injoye the 500*li.* quietly till he begine; for let him take his course hear or ther, it shall be all one, I will doe him no wronge; and if he have not on peney more, he is less loser then either Mr. Andrews or I. This I conceive to be just and honest; the having or not having of his release matters not; let him make shuch proafe of his debte as you cannot disprove, and according to your first agreemente you will pay it, etc.

Your truly affectioned freind,

JAMES SHERLEY.

London, Aprill 27. 1643.

Anno Dom: ·1643·[1]

I AM to begine this year whith that which was a mater of great saddnes and mourning unto them all. Aboute the 18· of Aprill dyed their Reve[ren]d Elder, and my dear and loving friend, Mr. William Brewster; a man that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus and the gospells sake, and had bore his parte in well and woe with this poore persecuted church above ·36· years [254] in England, Holand, and in this wildernes, and done the Lord and them faithfull service in his place and calling. And notwithstanding the many troubles and sorrows he passed throw, the Lord upheld him to a great age. He was nere fourskore years of age (if not all out) when he dyed.[2] He had this blesing added by the Lord to all the rest, to dye in his bed, in peace, amongst the mids of his freinds who mourned and wepte over him, and ministered what help and comforte they could unto him, and he againe recomforted them whilst he could. His sicknes was not long, and till the last day therof he did not wholy keepe his bed. His speech continued till somewhat more then halfe a day, and then failed him; and aboute ·9· or ·10· a clock that ev[e]ning he dyed, without any pangs at all. A few howers before, he drew his breath shorte, and some few minutes before his last, he drew his breath long, as a man falen into a sound slepe, without any pangs or gaspings, and so sweetly departed this life unto a better.

[1] The Assistants this year were Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, William Collier, Timothy Hatherley, John Brown, Edmund Freeman, and William Thomas.

[2] In an affidavit at Leyden, dated June 25, 1609, Brewster described himself as "aged about forty two years," which Dr. Dexter interprets as indicating that he was born in 1566. This would make him about seventy-eight at the time of his death. The known facts connected with Brewster's life may be found in Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 253, 273 *n.*

I would now demand of any, what he was the worse for any former sufferings? What doe I say, worse? Nay, sure he was the better, and they now added to his honour. *It is a manifest token* (saith the Apostle, 2. Thes: 1. 5, 6, 7.) *of the righteous judgmente of God that ye may be counted worthy of the kingdome of God, for which ye allso suffer; seing it is a righteous thing with God to recompence tribulation to them that trouble you: and to you who are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven, with his mighty angels.* 1. Pet. 4. 14. *If you be reproached for the name of Christ, hapy are ye, for the spirite of glory and of God resteth upon you.*[1] What though he wanted the riches and pleasures of the world in his life, and pompious monuments at his funurall? yet the memoriall of the just shall be blessed, when the name of the wicked shall rott (with their marble monuments). Pro: 10. 7.[2]

I should say something of his life, if to say a litle were not worse then to be silent. But I cannot wholy forbear, though hapily more may be done hereafter. After he had attained some learning, viz. the knowledg of the Latine tongue, and some insight in the Greeke,[3] and spent some small time at Cambridge,[4] and then being first seasoned with the seeds of grace and vertue, he went to the Courte, and served that religious and godly gentlman, Mr. Davison, diverce

[1] In these citations Bradford has used the King James Bible.

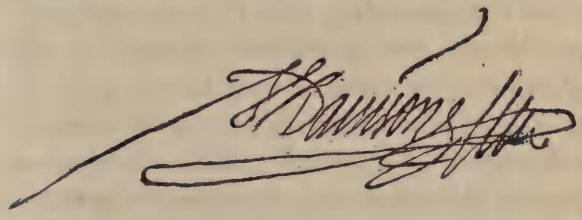
[2] He reverts to the Genevan text.

[3] "Preparation for Cambridge or Oxford turned largely upon a good knowledge of Latin. . . . The writing and speaking of Latin also were subjects of special drill." Greek, however, had fallen almost into disuse at Cambridge. Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 256, 276.

[4] He matriculated at St. Peter's, better known as Peterhouse, University of Cambridge, December 3, 1580. The master of Peterhouse was Dr. Andrew Perne (1519?–1589). John Penry, chief author of the Martin Mar-Prelate tracts, was an undergraduate at this time. The nature of a college and the university at that time is fully described by Dr. Dexter. The training was almost exclusively of a religious nature.

Prof. Franklin B. Dexter found that of seventy names of New Englanders traced to Cambridge University, "more than twenty of them were connected with Emanuel College, notorious almost from its foundation, in 1584, as a Puritan seed-plot."

years, when he was Secretary of State;[1] who found him so discreete and faithfull as he trusted him above all other that were aboute him, and only imployed him in all matters of greatest trust and secrecie. He esteemed him rather as a sonne then a servante, and for his wisdom and godlines (in private) he would converse with



him more like a freind and familier then a maister. He attended his m[aste]r when he was sente in ambassage by the Queene into the Low-Countries, in the Earle of Leicesters time, as for other waighty affaires of state, so to receive possession of the cautionary townes, and in token and signe therof the keyes of Flushing being delivered to him, in her ma[jes]ties name, he kepte them some time, and committed them to this his servante, who kept them under his pillow, on which he slepte the first night.[2] And, at his returne,

[1] Dexter conjectures that Brewster entered the service of Davison in 1583, a "confidential personal attendant, something more than a valet and something different from a private secretary, holding thus a position of constantly growing value and responsibility, one neither menial nor in any sense diplomatic, yet useful and, in its measure, honorable." William Davison (1541?–1608) became assistant to Walsingham, the queen's secretary of state in the autumn of 1586, after his service in the Netherlands.

[2] In 1585, pressed by the victories of the Spanish army, the States General of the Netherlands sought safety by offering the protectorship of Holland and Zeeland, and the sovereignty of the other provinces, conditionally to Henry III of France, who declined to accept, unless the sovereignty of all the Provinces was tendered. They then turned to Elizabeth, of England, who was unwilling to accept the sovereignty, but did enter into a treaty under which she would give some military aid, and as pledges for the repayment of the expenses of which the towns of Flushing, Brill and Rammekens were to be handed over to her. Davison was sent to the Low Countries in August to negotiate the treaty (signed August 10), and was made commander of Flushing. In January, 1586, the Earl of Leicester came with the promised aid, and shortly after, February 4–14, Davison returned to England. This doubtless determines the time of Brewster's visit and stay in the Low Countries.

the States honoured him with a gould chaine, and his maister committed it to him, and commanded him to wear it when they arrived in England, as they ridd thorrow the country, till they came to the Courte. He afterwards remained with him till his troubles, that he was put from his place aboute the death of the Queene of Scots; and some good time after, doeing him manie faithfull offices of servise in the time of his troubles.[1] Afterwards he wente and lived in the country, in good esteeme amongst his freinds and the gentle-men of those parts, espetially the godly and religious.[2] He did much good in the countrie wher he lived, in promoting and furthering religion, not only by his practiss and example, and provocking and incouraging of others, but by procuring of good preachers to the places theraboute, and drawing on of others to assiste and help forward in shuch a worke; he him selfe most commonly deepest in the charge, and some times above his abillitie.[3]

[1] Davison fell from royal favor in February, 1586–87. Three years later Davison asked the Postmaster General, Sir John Stanhope, to appoint Brewster to be post at Scrooby. On the back of Stanhope's reply are some memoranda in the writing of Davison, one of which states that Brewster had been in Scrooby and practically been the post there for a year and a half. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XII. 98. This fixes approximately the time when Brewster retired to Scrooby, but does not necessarily give the time of his leaving the service of Davison.

[2] Brewster's father, William Brewster, had in 1576 received from Archbishop Grindal commission to be receiver and bailiff of the lordship, or manor, of Scrooby. That place was on the Great North Road from London to Scotland, and was the twelfth stage from London and fifteenth from Berwick-upon-Tweed. The elder Brewster had for some years held the position of post, and upon his death in 1590, the office passed to his son, who had, without a commission, performed its duties and received the fees since the beginning of 1589. The story is told in Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 322.

[3] The condition of the clergy in England had been deplorable for many years. The progress of the Reformation, with its rapid transformations under Catholic and Protestant rulers, had introduced great confusion and cultivated a pliancy in the church's servants that had not increased their weight and authority in the localities they served. For a long period many of the churches in country towns and villages were vacant, and months might pass without preaching, or so much as reading a homily. The Universities, intended to be the training schools of the clergy, were not sending out fit

And in this state he continued many years, doeing the best good he could, and walking according to the light he saw, till the Lord reveiled further unto him. And in the end, by the tirrany of the bishops against godly preachers and people, in silenceing the one and persecuting the other, he and many more of those times begane to looke further into things, and to see into the unlawfullnes of their callings, and the burthen of many antichristian corruptions, which both he and they endeavored to cast of; as they allso did, as in the begining of this treatis is to be seene. [255] After they were joyned togither in comunion, he was a spetiall stay and help unto them. They ordinarily mett at his house on the Lords day, (which was a manor of the bishops,)[1] and with great love he enter-

men in sufficient numbers to assume those charges, and the qualities of many incumbents left much to be desired as religious guides and guardians of the best interests of the church. In the time of Elizabeth a move for improvement began in Northampton and spread through the kingdom. Meetings, termed Prophesyings, were held for the purpose of discussing theological and religious subjects, and served to train unpractised speakers for the delivery of sermons. Even Bacon recognized the good in such an endeavor, "the best way to frame and train up preachers to handle the Word of God as it ought to be handled." The Queen looked with disfavor upon them and issued a letter to the Bishops commanding their suppression. Gardiner, *History of England*, I. 30. The rules relative to Prophesyings in Northampton are in *Cal. S. P. Dom. Eliz.* LXXVIII. 38. In the dearth of ministers the activity of the Puritans made itself felt, and in a work, written before 1595, but not published until 1601, the writer stated: "Ye shal find tenne puritãs for one formalist [among the clergy of the land not non-residents and dumb dogs], & that one puritan doth more advance the gospell, & suppresse popery, than tenne formalists. For he attends [to] his ministery, & not [to] multiplying or exchanging of benefices. He preacheth, not once a month, or lesse, but euery Saboth day, & that, not to please the eare, but to moue the heart." *Humble Motives for Association to maintaine religion established*, quoted in Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Puritans*, 331. The Millenary Petition (1603) urged that no ministers be authorized but able and sufficient men, and that they be required to preach diligently, especially upon the Lord's day; but no steps were taken to carry such a reform into execution.

[1] Domesday book describes a parcel of land of about one hundred acres, lying in Sutton, Scrooby and Mattersey, belonging to the see of York. Early in the thirteenth century there appears to have been a residence on the place for the use of the archbishop and a manor house existed. The property still belongs to the see of York, but



MANOR BUILDING, SCROOBY

tained them when they came, making provission for them to his great charge, and continued so to doe, whilst they could stay in England. And when they were to remove out of the cuntrie he was one of the first in all adventures, and forwardest in any charge. He was the cheefe of those that were taken at Boston, and suffered the greatest loss; and of the seven that were kept longest in prison, and after bound over to the assises.[1] Affter he came into Holland he suffered much hardship, after he had spente the most of his means, haveing a great charge, and many children;[2] and, in regard of his former breeding and course of life, not so fitt for many imployments as others were, espetially shuch as were toylesume and laborious. But yet he ever bore his condition with much cher-

the "very fair Palace, a far greater House of receit, and a better Seat for provisions," was largely demolished in 1637, "enough being spared, and suitably repaired, to shelter the resident farmer, the 'plain farm tenement' which is there to this day." See Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 215.

Writing in 1909, Rev. Morton Dexter expressed a conviction that the present so-called manor house at Scrooby contains part of what was the manor house in the days of Brewster. No proof exists that the house was ever completely demolished, though it is known to have fallen into decay in 1637, when it had ceased to be needed for the use of the Archbishop of York. A portion of the house was then pulled down, but some building has always been required for the use of the bailiff or farmer in charge, and the construction of the house tells its own story. "The southern [part], evidently is much older and dates back to the time of the original structure. Its walls are several feet thick in several places. It has some of the small windows which used to be common three hundred years ago. There are one or two niches which no farmhouse ever would have been likely to contain, as well as several large arched windows or doorways, now bricked up, which, like the niches, can have had no modern use but would have found a natural place in a building having, as we know that the original edifice had, a great hall and a chapel." *Mayflower Descendant*, XI. 215. Doubts, however, have been expressed whether the existing building was not an out-house of the manor, now containing some of the materials of the original manor house.

[1] See vol. I. p. 31.

[2] Brewster married about 1591, and his wife, Mary, was about two years younger than he. At least three children were born at Scrooby, Jonathan, Patience and Fear. The exact dates of birth have not been determined, but Dexter, with reason, conjectures that Jonathan was born about 1592–93, Patience, before 1600, and Fear, just before the flight into Holland.

fullnes and contentation. Towards the later parte of those ·12· years spente in Holland, his outward condition was mended, and he lived well and plentifully; for he fell into a way (by reason he had the Latine tongue) to teach many students, who had a disire to lerne the English tongue, to teach them English; and by his method they quickly attained it with great facilitie; for he drew rules to lerne it by, after the Latine maner; and many gentlemen, both Danes and Germans, resorted to him, as they had time from other studies, some of them being great mens sonnes. He also had means to set up printing, (by the help of some freinds,) and so had imploymente inoughg, and by reason of many books which would not be alowed to be printed in England, they might have had more then they could doe.[1] But now removeing into this countrie, all these things were laid aside againe, and a new course of living must be framed unto; in which he was no way unwilling to take his parte, and to bear his burthen with the rest, living many times without bread, or corne, many months together, having many times nothing but fish, and often wanting that also; and drunke nothing but water for many years togeather, yea, till within ·5· or ·6· years of his death. And yet he lived (by the blessing of God) in health till very old age. And besides that, he would labour with his hands in the feilds as long as he was able; yet when the church had no other minister, he taught twise every Saboth, and that both powerfully and profitably, to the great contentment of the hearers, and their comfortable edification; yea, many were brought to God by his ministrie. He did more in this behalfe in a year, then many that have their hundreds a year doe in all their lives.[2] For his personall abilities, he was qualified above many; he was wise

[1] The Pilgrim Press was set up in Choir Alley. A list of Brewster's issues is given in Arber, *The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 237, and the difficulties he had on their account, in vol. I. p. 89.

[2] Bradford expresses his opinion of Brewster's ministrations, vol. I. p. 402. It may be noted that Winthrop (I. *91), while characterizing Bradford as "a very discreet and grave man," makes no mention of Brewster.

COMMENTARII
Succincti & Dilucidi
IN
PROVERBIA SALOMONIS.

AVTHORE
THOMA CARTVVRIGHTO
SS. Theologiæ in Academia CANTABRIGIENSI *quondam Professore.*

Quibus adhibita est Præfatio clarissimi viri
IOHANNIS POLYANDRI,
S. Theologiæ Professoris LEIDENSIS.

LVGDVNI BATAVORVM.
Apud *Guiljelmum Brevvsterum*,
In vico Chorali.
1617.

and discreete and well spoken, having a grave and deliberate utterance, of a very cherfull spirite, very sociable and pleasante amongst his freinds, of an humble and modest mind, of a peaceable disposition, under vallewing him self and his owne abilities, and some time over valewing others; inoffencive and innocente in his life and conversation, which gained him the love of those without, as well as those within; yet he would tell them plainely of their faults and evills, both publickly and privatly, but in shuch a maner as usually was well taken from him. He was tender harted, and compassionate of shuch as were in miserie, but espetialy of shuch as had been of good estate and ranke, and were fallen unto want and poverty, either for goodnes and religions sake, or by the injury and oppression of others; he would say, of all men these deserved to be pitied most. And none did more offend and displease him then shuch as would hautily and proudly carry and lift up themselves, being rise from nothing, and haveing litle els in them to comend them but a few fine cloaths, or a litle riches more then others. In teaching, he was very moving and staring[1] of affections, also very plaine and distincte in what he taught; by which means he became the more profitable to the hearers. He had a singuler good gift in prayer, both publick and private, in ripping up the hart and conscience before God, in the humble confession of sinne, and begging the mercies of God in Christ for the pardon of the same. He always thought it were better for ministers to pray oftener, and devide their preyars, then be longe and tedious in the same (excepte upon sollemne and spetiall occations, as in days of humiliation and the like). His reason was, that the harte and spirits of all, espetialy the weake, could hardly continue and stand bente (as it were) so long towards God, as they ought to doe in that duty, without flagging and falling of. For the govermente of the church, (which was most [256] proper to his office,) he was carfull to preserve good order in the same, and to preserve puritie, both in the doctrine and

[1] stirring?

comunion of the same; and to supress any errour or contention that might begine to rise up amongst them; and accordingly God gave good success to his indeavors herein all his days, and he saw the fruite of his labours in that behalfe. But I must breake of, having only thus touched a few, as it were, heads of things.[1]

I cannot but here take occasion, not only to mention, but greatly to admire the marvelous providence of God, that notwithstanding the many changes and hardships that these people wente throwgh, and the many enemies they had and difficulties they mette with all, that so many of them should live to very olde age! It was not only this reve[ren]d mans condition, (for one swallow makes no summer, as they say,) but many more of them did the like, some dying aboute and before this time, and many still living, who attained to ·60· years of age, and to ·65· diverse to ·70· and above, and some nere ·80· as he did. It must needs be more then ordinarie, and above naturall reason, that so it should be; for it is found in experience, that chaing of aeir, famine, or unholsome foode, much drinking of water, sorrows and troubles, etc., all of them are enimies to health, causes of many diseaces, consumers of naturall vigoure and the bodys of men, and shortners of life. And yet of all these things they had a large parte, and suffered deeply in the same. They wente from England to Holand, wher they found both worse air and dyet then that they came from; from thence (indur-ing a long imprisonmente, as it were, in the ships at sea) into New-England; and how it hath been with them hear hath allready beene

[1] No letter, sermon or notes of any kind by Brewster have been preserved. A slight examination of the library which Brewster left on his death proves his scholarship. The valuable identification of the volumes in this library by Dr. Morton Dexter is in 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, v. 37. Analysing the subjects Dr. Dexter found: Expository, 98; Doctrinal, 63; Practical religious, 69; Historical, 24; Ecclesiastical, 36; Philosophical, 6; Poetical, 14; Miscellaneous, 54. The total number of separate books in the library is estimated to have been four hundred, "certainly one of extraordinary size and quality in those days to be collected and owned by a single member of such a church, in such a primitive community and colony."

showne; and what crosses, troubles, fears, wants, and sorrowes they have been lyable unto, is easie to conjecture; so as in some sorte they may say with the Apostle, ·2· Cor: 11. 26, 27. *They were in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perills of robers, in perills of their owne nation, in perils among the heathen, in perills in the willdernes, in perills in the sea, in perills among false breethern; in wearines and painfullnes, in watching*[s] *often, in hunger and thirst, in fasting*[s] *often, in could and nakednes.*[1] What was it then that upheld them? It was Gods vissitation that preserved their spirits. Job ·10· 12. Thou hast given me life and grace, and thy vissitation hath preserved my spirite.[2] He that upheld the Apostle upheld them. *They were persecuted, but not forsaken, cast downe, but perished not.* 2. Cor: 4. 9.[2] *As unknowen, and yet knowen; as dying, and behold we live; as chastened, and yett not kiled.* 2. Cor: 6. 9.[2] God, it seems, would have all men to behold and observe such mercies and works of his providence as these are towards his people, that they in like cases might be incouraged to depend upon God in their trials, and also blese his name when they see his goodnes towards others. Man lives not by bread only, Deut: 8. 3. It is not by good and dainty fare, by peace, and rest, and harts ease, in injoying the contentments and good things of this world only, that preserves health and prolongs life. God in shuch examples would have the world see and behold that he can doe it without them; and if the world will shut ther eyes, and take no notice therof, yet he would have his people to see and consider it. Daniell could be better liking with pulse then others were with the kings dainties. Jaacob, though he wente forom one nation to another people, and passed thorow famine, fears, and many afflictions, yet he lived till old age, and dyed sweetly, and rested in the Lord, as infinite others of Gods servants have done, and still shall

[1] This is from the King James version. Bradford has omitted "in perils of the city."

[2] This is from the Genevan version.

doe, (through Gods goodnes,) notwithstanding all the malice of their enemies; *when the branch of the wicked shall be cut of before his day*, Job. 15. 32. *and the bloody and deceitfull men shall not live* [*out*] *halfe their days*. Psa: 55. 23.[1]

By reason of the plottings of the Narigansets, (ever since the Pequents warr,) the Indeans were drawne into a generall conspiracie against the English in all parts, as was in part discovered the yeare before; and now made more plaine and evidente by many discoveries and free-confessions of sundrie Indeans (upon severall occasions) from diverse places, concuring in one;[2] with shuch other concuring circomstances as gave them suffissently to understand the trueth therof, and to thinke of means how to prevente the same, and secure them selves. Which made them enter into this more nere union and confederation following.[3] [257]

[1] From the King James version.

[2] In September, 1642, Plymouth prepared to encounter any attack from the Indians by providing "by the generall consent of the whole Towne that a fortyfycation shalbe made about the ordinance and another peece mounted and that Gov'r Prence, Mr. Atwood Mr. Jenney and Mr. Paddy shall agree with workmen to have it donn speedyly and to repaire the watchouse and make a brick chimney to it. And afterwards to make a rate for all throughout the Towneshipp. . . . It is agreed that Mr. Jenney Manasseh Kempton and John Dunhame shall be added to the comittees to conferr and conclude with the generall Court about the war. It is agreed that every man shall bring two peeces more of viii foote long to finish the fortyfycac̃on on the fort hill and that Richard Church shall speedyly make the carriage for another peece of ordinance." The expense of thus fortifying amounted to £6. 10*s*. *Records of the Town of Plymouth*, I. 11, 17.

[3] These articles are printed in *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 3, and in *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven*, I. 98. Differences of importance in text are noted by words in brackets. Chalmers, in his *Political Annals*, 177, writing during the American War of Independence, refers to this confederation and says: "The most inattentive must perceive the exact resemblance it bears to a similar junction of the colonies, more recent, extensive, and powerful." John Quincy Adams, in 1843, asserted that: "The New England Confederacy of 1643 was the model and prototype of the North American Confederacy of 1774." See his address on "The New England Confederacy of 1643," in 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IX. 189. The Articles suggest some of the provisions to be found in the United States Constitution.

Articles of Conffederation betweene the Plantations under the Govermente of [the] Massachusets, the Plantations under the Govermente of New-Plimoth, the Plantations under the Govermente of Conightecute, and the Govermente of New-Haven, with the Plantations in combination therwith.[1]

Wheras we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aime, namly, to advance the kingdome of our Lord

[1] The Massachusetts General Court met September 8, 1642, and, warned by intelligence from Connecticut, at once took up the question of the Narragansett Indians. The belief was general that there was a widespread conspiracy among the Indians, with Miantunomo as their leader, and the Bay colony made up its mind to meet the danger in advance of its further development. It determined to send messengers to Miantunomo demanding satisfaction on the supposed conspiracy and on his breaches of the treaty existing between himself and the Bay. Among the instructions to the messengers was the following: "12. You are to let them know, that wee account the English at Plimoth, Connectecot, Newhaven, and other parts of the country that are in Freindship with us, as all one with ourselues." As Massachusetts Bay was but ill prepared to begin actual war with the Indians, steps were taken to effect a union of action with the other Plantations. On September 27, the "magistrates in and neare Boston, with the deputies of Boston, Charlestowne, Cambridg, Watertowne, Roxbury, Dorchester, or the greater part of them, are appointed to bee a committee to treate with any commissioners from Plimoth, Connectecot, or Newe Haven, about the union, and concerning avoyding any danger of the Indians," with power to do what was needful for the common peace and safety, except to enter upon an offensive war. *Mass. Col. Rec.*, II. 24, 31.

On the same day the Plymouth General Court met in special session to provide forces for a war against the Narragansetts.

At this session three commissioners were named to go to the Bay on this important project, — Edward Winslow, Timothy Hatherley and Myles Standish. Their commission empowered them to "treate and conclude with such commissioners as the Gouernor and Court of Massachusetts shall appoynt for that purpose, vpon such heads and propositions as the Lord shall direct them for our combineing together mutually in a defensiue and offensiue warr for our present defence against the intended surprisall of the natiues; and also to treate and conferr with them about a further combinac̃on and league to be concluded betwixt vs for future tymes." Although Connecticut had framed propositions for a union, which the General Court of Massachusetts Bay took into consideration, the approach of winter prevented action, and the matter was postponed to the spring of 1643. In March Edward Winslow and William Collier were chosen by the Plymouth General Court to proceed to the Bay to treat about the

Jesus Christ, and to injoye the liberties of the Gospell in puritie with peace; and wheras in our setling (by a wise providence of God) we are further disperced upon the sea coasts and rivers then was at first intended, so that we cannot, according to our desires, with conveniencie comunicate in one govermente and jurisdiction; and wheras we live encompassed with people of severall nations and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us and [or] our posteritie; and for as much as the natives have formerly committed sundrie insolencies and outrages upon severall plantations of the English, and have of late combined them selves against us; and seeing, by reason of those [sad] distractions in England (which they have heard of) and by which they know we are hindered from that humble way of seeking advice or reaping those comfurtable fruits of protection which at other times we might well expecte; we therfore doe conceive it our bounden duty, without delay, to enter into a presente consociation amongst our selves, for mutuall help and strength in all our future concernments. That as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be and continue one, according to the tenor and true meaning of the insuing articles. (1) Wherfore it is fully agreed and concluded by and betweene the parties or jurisdictions above named, and they joyntly and severally doe by these presents agree and conclude, that they all be and henceforth be called by the name of THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW-ENGLAND.

2. The said United Collonies, for them selves and their posterities, doe joyntly and severally hereby enter into a firme and perpetuall league of frendship and amitie, for offence and defence, mutuall

combination. The meeting of the four plantations resulted in mutual concession, and in the Articles of Confederation, the most important step in administration yet taken by the governments, and fruitful in good results. The Plymouth commissioners, being empowered only to treat, but not to determine, could not sign the Articles, as did the commissioners of the other plantations; but on returning to Plymouth the Articles were accepted and ratified. Winthrop, *History*, II. *100; 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 173. On June 19 Winthrop wrote to New Haven, "wherein from Mr. Winslow he signifies the cheerefull concurrence of the Court att Plymouth in the said confederation." *New Haven Col. Rec.*, I. 96. Had not this confederation been formed, a partial union would have been arranged between Connecticut and the New Haven plantations. *Conn. Col. Rec.*, I. 82.

advice and succore upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth [and liberties] of the Gospell, and for their owne mutuall saftie and wellfare.

3. It is further agreed that the plantations which at presente are or hereafter shall be setled with[in] the limites of the Massachusets shall be for ever under the Massachusets, and shall have peculier jurisdiction amonge them selves in all cases, as an intire body. And that Plimoth, Conightecutt, and New-Haven shall each of them have like peculier jurisdition and govermente within their limites and in refference to the plantations which allready are setled, or shall hereafter be erected, or shall setle within their limites, respectively; provided that no other jurisdition shall hereafter be taken in, as a distincte head or member of this confederation, nor shall any other plantation or jurisdiction in presente being, and not allready in combination or under the jurisdiction of any of these confederates, be received by any of them; nor shall any tow of the confederates joyne in one jurisdiction, without consente of the rest, which consente to be interpreted as is expresed in the sixte article ensewing.[1]

4. It is by these conffederates agreed, that the charge of all just warrs, whether offencive or defencive, upon what parte or member of this confederation soever they fall, shall, both in men, provissions, and all other disbursments, be borne by all the parts of this confederation, in differente proportions, according to their differente abillities, in maner following: namely, that the comissioners for each jurisdiction, from time to time, as ther shall be occasion, bring a true accounte and number of all their males in every plantation, or any way belonging too or under their severall jurisdictions, of what qualitie or condition soever they be, from ·16· years old to ·60· [threescore] being inhabitants ther;[2] and that according to the differente numbers which from time to time shall be found in each jurisdiction upon a true and just accounte, the service of men and all charges of the warr

[1] It was originally intended that Sir Ferdinando Gorges' province of Maine should be a member of this Confederation. Why the plan was not carried out is related in Winthrop, *History*, II. *85.

[2] This was done in August, 1645, by all the colonies except Massachusetts Bay, but the returns have not been preserved. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 49.

be borne by the pole; each jurisdiction or plantation being left to their owne just course and custome of rating them selves and people according to their differente estates, with due respects to their qualities and exemptions amongst them selves, though the confederates [confederation] take no notice of any shuch priviledg. And that according to their differente charge of each jurisdiction and plantation, the whole advantage of the warr, (if it please God to blesse their indeaours,) whether it be in lands, goods, or persons, shall be proportionably devided amonge the said confederates.

5. It is further agreed, that if [any of] these jurisdictions, or any plantation under or in combynacion with them, be invaded by any enemie whomsoever, upon notice and requeste of any ·3· [258] magistrates of that jurisdiction of [so] invaded, the rest of the confederates, without any further meeting or expostulation, shall forthwith send ayd to the confederate in danger, but in differente proportion; namely, the Massachusets an hundred men sufficently armed and provided for shuch a service and journey, and each of the rest forty five so armed and provided, or any lesser number, if less be required according to this proportion. But if shuch confederate in danger may be supplyed by their nexte confederates, not exceeding the number hereby agreed, they may crave help ther, and seeke no further for the presente; the charge to be borne as in this article is exprest, and at the returne to be victuled and suplyed with powder and shote for their jurney (if ther be need) by that jurisdiction which imployed or sent for them. But none of the jurisdictions to exceede these numbers till, by a meeting of the commissioners for this confederation, a greater aide appear nessessarie. And this proportion to continue till upon knowlege of greater numbers in each jurisdiction, which shall be brought to the nexte meeting, and some other proportion be ordered. But in [any] shuch case of sending men for presente aide, whether before or after shuch order or alteration, it is agreed that at the meeting of the comissioners for this confederation, that the cause of shuch warr or invasion be duly considered; and if it appeare that the falte lay in the parties so invaded, that then that jurisdiction or plantation make just satisfaction both to the invaders whom they have injured, and beare all the charges of the warr them selves, without

requiring any allowance from the rest of the confederates towards the same. And further, that if any jurisdiction see any danger of any invasion approaching, and ther be time for a meeting, that in shuch a case ·3· magistrates of that jurisdiction may summone a meeting, at shuch conveniente place as them selves shall thinke meete, to consider and provid against the threatened danger, provided when they are mett, they may remove to what place they please; only, whilst any of these foure confederates have but ·3· magistrates in their jurisdiction, their requeste, or summons, from any ·2· of them shall be accounted of equall force with the ·3· mentioned in both the clauses of this article, till ther be an increase of majestrates ther.

6. It is also agreed that, for the managing and concluding of all affairs propper, and concerning the whole confederation, two comissioners shall be chosen by and out of each of these ·4· jurisdictions; namly, ·2· for the Massachusets, ·2· for Plimoth, ·2· for Conightecutt, and ·2· for New-Haven, being all in church fellowship with us, which shall bring full power from their severall Generall Courts respectively to hear, examene, waigh, and detirmine all affairs of [our][1] warr, or peace, leagues, aids, charges, and numbers of men for warr, divissions of spoyles, and whatsoever is gotten by conquest; receiving of more confederates, or plantations into combination with any of the confederates, and all things of like nature, which are the proper concomitants or consequences of shuch a confederation, for amitie, offence, and defence; not intermedling with the govermente of any of the jurisdictions, which by the ·3· article is preserved entirely to them selves. But if these ·8· comissioners when they meete shall not all agree, yet it [is] concluded that any ·6· of the ·8· agreeing shall have power to setle and determine the bussines in question. But if ·6· doe not agree, that then shuch propositions, with their reasons, so farr as they have been debated, be sente, and referred to the ·4· Generall Courts, viz. the Massachusets, Plimoth, Conightecutt, and New-haven; and if at all the said Generall Courts the bussines so referred be concluded, then to be prosecuted by the confederates, and all their members. It was [is] further agreed that these ·8· comisioners shal meete once every

[1] This word is not in the New Haven copy of the Articles.

year, besides extraordinarie meetings, (according to the fifte article,) to consider, treate, and conclude of all affaires belonging to this confederation, which meeting shall ever be the first Thursday in September. And that the next meeting after the date of these presents, which shall be accounted the second meeting, shall be at Boston in the Massachusets, the ·3· at Hartford, the ·4· at New-Haven, the ·5· at Plimoth, [the sixt and seauenth at Bostone And then Hartford New Hauen and Plymouth] and so in course successively, if in the meane time some midle place be not found out and agreed on, which may be comodious for all the jurisdictions.

7. It is further agreed, that at each meeting of these ·8· comissioners, whether ordinarie, or extraordinary, they all [or any] ·6· of them agreeing as before, may chuse a [their] presidente out of them selves, whose office and work shall be to take care and directe for order, and a comly carrying on of all proceedings in the present meeting; but he shall be invested with no shuch power or, respecte, as by which he shall hinder the propounding or progrese of any bussines, or any way cast the scailes otherwise then in the precedente article is agreed. [259]

8. It is also agreed, that the comissioners for this confederation hereafter at their meetings, whether ordinarie or extraordinary, as they may have comission or opportunitie, doe indeaover to frame and establish agreements and orders in generall cases of a civill nature, wherin all the plantations are interessed, for the preserving of peace amongst them selves, and preventing as much as may be all occasions of warr or difference with others; as aboute the free and speedy passage of justice, in every jurisdiction, to all the confederates equally as to their owne; not receiving those that remove from one plantation to another without due certificate; how all the jurisdictions may carry [it] towards the Indeans, that they neither growe insolente, nor be injured without due satisfaction, least warr breake in upon the confederates through such miscarriages. It is also agreed, that if any servante rune away from his maister into an[any] other of these confederated jurisdictions, that in shuch case, upon the certificate of one magistrate in the jurisdiction out of which the said servante fledd, or upon other due proofe, the said servante shall be delivered, either to his maister, or any other that pursues and brings such certificate or

proofe. And that upon the escape of any prisoner whatsoever, or fugitive for any criminall cause, whether breaking prison, or getting from the officer, or otherwise escaping, upon the certificate of ·2· magistrates of the jurisdiction out of which the escape is made, that he was a prisoner, or such an offender at the time of the escape, they [the] magistrates, or sume of them of that jurisdiction wher for the presente the said prisoner or fugitive abideth, shall forthwith grante shuch a warrante as the case will beare, for the apprehending of any shuch person, and the delivering [delivery] of him into the hands of the officer, or other person who pursues him. And if ther be help required, for the safe returning of any shuch offender, then it shall be granted to him that craves the same, he paying the charges therof.[1]

9. And for that the justest warrs may be of dangerous consequence, espetially to the smaler plantations in these United Collonies, it is agreed that neither the Massachusets, Plimoth, Conightecutt, nor New-Haven, nor any [of the] member[s] of any of them, shall at any time hear after begine, undertake, or ingage them selves, or this confederation, or any parte therof, in any warr whatsoever, (sudden exegents, with the necessary consequents therof excepted which are also to be moderated as much as the case will permitte,) without the consente and agreemente of the forementioned [forenamed] ·8· comissioners, or at the least ·6· of them, as in the sixt article is provided. And that no charge be required of any of they [the] confederates, in case of a defensive warr, till the said comissioners have mett, and approved the justice of the warr, and have agreed upon the summe of money to be levied, which sume is then to be paid by the severall confederates in proportion according to the fourth article.

10. That in extraordinary occasions, when meetings are sumoned

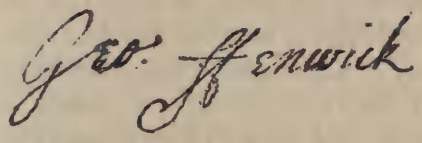
[1] The Constitution of the United States, Art. IV. § 2, contained a similar provision which had been adopted unanimously in the convention of 1787. "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." The Articles of Confederation (1781) contained no provision of this nature.

by three magistrates of any jurisdiction, or ·2· as in the ·5· article, if any of the comissioners come not, due warning being given or sente, it is agreed that ·4· of the comissioners shall have power, to directe a warr which cannot be delayed, and to send for due proportions of men out of each jurisdiction, as well as ·6· might doe if all mett; but not less then ·6· shall determine the justice of the warr, or alow the demands or bills of charges, or cause any levies to be made for the same.

11. It is further agreed, that if any of the confederates shall hereafter breake any of these presente articles, or be any other ways injurious to any one of the other jurisdictions, such breach of agreemente or injurie shall be duly considered and ordered by the comissioners for the other jurisdiction[s]; that both peace and this presente confederation may be intirly preserved without violation.

12. Lastly, this perpetuall confederation, and the severall articles [and agreements] therof being read, and seriously considered, both by the Generall Courte for the Massachusets, and by the comissioners for Plimoth, Conigtecute, and New-Haven, were fully alowed and confirmed by ·3· of the forenamed confederates, namly, the Massachusets, Conightecutt, and New-Haven; only the comissioners for Plimoth haveing no commission to conclude, desired respite till they might advise with their Generall Courte; wher upon it was agreed and concluded by the said Courte of the Massachusets, and the comissioners for the other tow confederates, that, if Plimoth consente, then the whole treaty as it stands in these present articles is, and shall continue, firme and stable without alteration. But if Plimoth come not in, yet the other three confederates doe by these presents [260] confeirme the whole confederation, and [all] the articles therof; only in September nexte, when the second meeting of the commissioners is to be at Boston, new consideration may be taken of the ·6· article, which concerns numbers of comissioners for meeting and concluding they [the] affaires of this confederation, to the satisfaction of the Courte of the Massachusets, and the comissioners for the other ·2· confederates, but the rest to stand unquestioned. In the testimonie wherof, the Generall Courte of the Massachusets, by ther Secretary, and the comissioners for Conightecutt and New-Haven, have subscribed these presente articles this ·19· of the third month, comonly called May, Anno Dom: 1643.

At a meeting of the comissioners for the confederation held at Boston the ·7· of Sept[ember], it appearing that the Generall Courte of New-Plimoth, and the severall towneshipes therof, have read and considered and approved these articles of confederation, as appeareth by commission from their Generall Courte bearing date the ·29· of August, 1643. to Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. William Collier, to ratifie and confirme the same on their behalfes. We, therfore, the Comissioners for the Massachusets, Conightecutt, and New Haven, doe also, for our severall goverments, subscribe unto them.[1]



JOHN WINTHROP, Gov^r. of the Massachusest.
THO: DUDLEY. THEOPH: EATON.
GEO: FENWICK. EDWA: HOPKINS.
THOMAS GREGSON.[2]

[1] It will be noticed that the Commissioners from Plymouth are not signatories of the Articles of Confederation, and the names of the Commissioners from the other plantations occur at the end of the state paper as printed, though the last paragraph must have been inserted after the signing in May, 1643. The original of this paper has not been preserved.

[2] With the formation of the Confederation the political importance of Plymouth declined. Not only did the population of Massachusetts Bay give that Plantation greater weight in the councils of the Confederation, but its connection with the Connecticut settlements and its much greater territory and wide sphere of influence tended to make it the source of activity. In the second meeting of the Commissioners, held at Hartford, in September, 1644, this superiority of the Bay colony was asserted by its representatives, who "expressed not onely their owne apprehensions but the judgment of their generall Court, that by the Articles of Confederacon the first place [in signing] did of right belong to the Massachusetts, as being first named." The Commissioners from the other colonies demurred somewhat on the ground that such a privilege had not been propounded, granted, or practised at a former meeting of the Commissioners, but "out of their respects to the Gouerment of the Massachusetts they did willingly graunt that their Commissioners should first subscribe after the President in this and all future meetings." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 16.

Having acceded to the Confederation the plantation began its preparations for war. A "military discipline," established and maintained by the towns of Plymouth, Duxbury and Marshfield, appointed the following officers for the year: Myles Standish,

These were the articles of agreemente in the union and confederation which they now first entered into; and in this their first meeting, held at Boston the day and year abovesaid, amongst other things they had this matter of great consequence to considere on: the Narigansets, after the subduing of the Pequents, thought to have ruled over all the Indeans aboute them; but the English, espetially those of Conightecutt holding correspondence and frenship with Uncass, sachem of the Monhigg Indeans which lived nere them,[1] (as the Massachusets had done with the Narigansets,) and

captain, Nathaniel Thomas, lieutenant, Nathaniel Souther, clerk, and Matthew Fuller and Samuel Nash, sergeants. The rules or orders are printed in *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, II. 61. The nature of the first three orders shows the distinction that may be made between this company and the earlier and more famous organization of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery of Boston. These three rules are: "1. That the exercise be alwayes begunn and ended with prayer. 2. That there be one procured to preach them a sermon once a year, viz. at the elecc̃on of their officers, and the first to begin in September next. 3. That none shalbe receiued into this millitary company but such as are of honest and good report, and freemen, not servants, and shalbe well approued by the officers and the whole company, or the major part."

The town of Plymouth appointed a watch to be kept "in regard of the danger of the Indians." Each watch was composed of six men and a corporal, and a watch continued twenty-three hours, from sunset to sunset. The whole township was liable to do duty in thus watching, and if any one could not perform his stated time, he was at his own cost to provide a substitute. A brick watch house was to be constructed, and smaller pieces of ordnance be obtained. Two captains, or masters of the watch, were named, Nathaniel Souther and Thomas Southworth, who were to serve a week alternately, and the first watch fell to Southworth. In October a joint committee or council of war came into being. The General Court appointed Governor Bradford, who was also to be the president of the Council, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, William Collier and Capt. Myles Standish. The town named Bradford, Prence, Stephen Hopkins, John Jenney, William Paddy and Nathaniel Souther. *Records of the Town of Plymouth*, I. 15, 16; *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, II. 64.

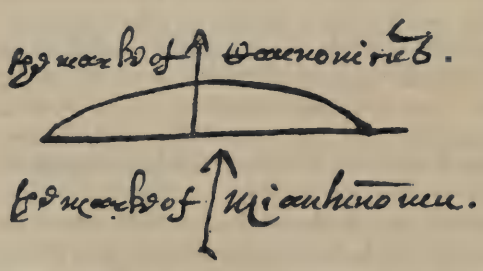
[1] The settlements at Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, later to be known as the Connecticut plantations, had obtained the Indian cession of lands from Uncas and Sequasson, and held some of the tribes under tribute. It was good policy to stand well with the Indians, for the English settlers had differences with the Dutch, and active hostilities were probable. Continued friendly relations were, under the conditions then necessarily prevailing, practically impossible. Roger Ludlow, deputy governor of Connecticut, in August, 1642, received information from a neighbor-

he had been faithfull to them in the Pequente warr, they were ingaged to supporte him in his just liberties, and were contented that such of the surviving Pequents as had submited to him should remaine with him and quietly under his protection. This did much increase his power and augmente his greatnes, which the Narigansets could not indure to see. But Myantinomo,[1] their cheefe sachem, (an ambitious and politick man,) sought privatly and by trearchery (according to the Indean maner) to make him away, by hiring some to kill him. Sometime they assayed to poyson him; that not takeing, then in the night time to knock him on the head in his house, or

ing sachem of a conspiracy among the Indians to exterminate the whites. The leader was said to be Miantunomo, and all of the chiefs in Connecticut, Massachusetts and Long Island were involved, except Uncas. Ludlow, after receiving some confirmation of the intelligence, transmitted it to Massachusetts Bay, and thus opened the train of events that led to the death of the Narragansett sachem. 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, III. 161.

[1] The confusion of Indian names is almost beyond a solution. Hutchinson, from a manuscript before him, states that the Narragansetts, when the English first arrived in New England, were under a very powerful sachem, named Tashtussuck. "He had only two children, a son and a daughter. Not being able to match them according to their dignity, he joined them together in matrimony," and they had four sons, of whom Canonicus was the eldest. *History*, I. 458 *n*.

Miantunomo (also called Mecumeh) was the son of Mascus, youngest brother of Canonicus. His wife's name, as given in the deed of the Sosoa purchase in Westerly, was Wawaloam. Miantunomo had a brother, Otash, or Yotnesh.



Another son of Canonicus was Pessacus, who also had a number of other names,—Maussup, Canonicus, Sucquans or Quissucquansh,—and is believed to have been about twenty years of age when he succeeded Miantunomo as chief sachem of the Narragansetts.

A third son of Canonicus is variously called Meika, Meiksah, Meaksaw, or Maxanus, and is supposed to be the Mishaunno who witnessed the deed of Aquethnick. He married a sister of Ninigret, named Magnus, Matantuck or Quaiapen, afterwards called the Sunke Squaw or Old Queen of the Narragansetts.

secretly to shoot him, and shuch like attempts.[1] But none of these taking effecte, he made open warr upon him (though it was against the covenants both betweene the English and them, as also betweene them selves, and a plaine breach of the same). He came suddanly upon him with ·900· or· 1000· men (never denouncing any warr before). The others power at that presente was not aboute halfe so many; but it pleased God to give Uncass the victory, and he slew many of his men, and wounded many more; but the cheefe of all was, he tooke Miantinomo prisoner. And seeing he was a greate man, and the Narigansets a potente people and would seeke revenge, he would doe nothing in the case without the advise of the English; so he (by the help and direction of those of Conightecutt) kept him prisoner till this meeting of the comissioners.[2] The comissioners weighed the cause and passages, as they were clearly represented and sufficiently evidenced betwixte Uncass and Myantinomo; and the things being duly considered, the comissioners apparently saw that Uncass could not be safe whilst Miantynomo lived, but, either by secrete trechery or open force, his life would be still in danger. Wherfore they thought he might justly put shuch a false and bloud-thirstie enimie to death; but in his owne jurisdiction, not in the English plantations. And they advised, in the maner of his death all mercy and moderation should be showed, contrary to the practise of the Indeans, who exercise tortures and cruelty.[3]

[1] The various attempts upon the life of Uncas are detailed in the Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, in their meeting of September, 1643. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 10.

[2] Bradford summarizes the statement of the matter recorded in the Acts of the Commissioners, at their first meeting, often using their exact words. He could hardly have received independent information of the jealousy between Uncas and Miantunomo. The incident is narrated in detail by Winthrop, and from his narrative it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that a great wrong was done to Miantunomo.

[3] "The fate of Miantinomo cannot fail to impress the attentive reader of the history of that transaction with a feeling of deep sympathy for the noble prisoner. The reasons for the advice given to Uncas by the commissioners of the United Colonies . . . will not appear satisfactory to a reader of the present day. There is reason to

And, [261] Uncass having hitherto shewed him selfe a freind to the English, and in this craving their advise, if the Narigansett Indeans or others shall unjustly assaulte Uncass for this execution, upon notice and request, the English promise to assiste and protecte him as farr as they may againste shuch violence.

This was the issue of this bussines. The reasons and passages hereof are more at large to be seene in the acts and records of this meeting of the comissioners. And Uncass followed this advise, and accordingly executed him, in a very faire maner, acording as they advised, with due respecte to his honour and greatnes. But what followed on the Narigansets parte will appear heare after.[1]

believe that the friendly relations of Miantinomo with Gorton and his heterodox associates, in connection with the sale of Shawomet and Patuxet to the latter, may have operated as a secret ground of influence against him." DEANE.

This incident is described in Winthrop, II. *131. A defence of the conduct of the Commissioners will be found in Palfrey, *History of New England*, II. 128 *n*; a condemnation in Savage's note in Winthrop. Instead of securing peace the death of Miantunomo opened a period of reprisal and recrimination, and the unrest continued until the policy of "thorough" was again applied in Philip's War.

[1] The Commissioners at this meeting decided that for any emergency Massachusetts should supply one hundred and fifty men, Plymouth and Connecticut, each thirty, and New Haven, twenty-five. This apportionment does not differ materially from that made in May, 1645 (p. 378, *infra*), and furnishes an approximate measure of the estimated resources and population of the four settlements at this time. In the later force the numbers from New Plymouth and Connecticut were slightly increased, and those from Massachusetts and New Haven, less. Both apportionments were made before the returns of the male population required by the Articles of Confederation had been prepared (p. 356, *supra*).

Anno Dom: ·1644·[1]

MR. EDWARD WINSLOW was chosen Gov[erno]r this year.

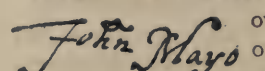
Many having left this place (as is before noted) by reason of the straightnes and barrennes of the same,[2] and their finding of better accomodations elsewher, more suitable to their ends and minds; and sundrie others still upon every occasion desiring their dismissions, the church begane seriously to thinke whether it were not better joyntly to remove to some other place, then to be thus weakened, and as it were insensibly dissolved. Many meetings and much consultation was held hearaboute, and diverse were mens minds and oppinions. Some were still for staying togeather in this place, alledging men might hear live, if they would be contente with their condition; and that it was not for wante or necessitie so much that they removed, as for the enriching of them selves. Others were resolute upon removall, and so signified that hear they could not stay; but if the church did not remove, they must; insomuch as many were swayed, rather then ther should be a dissolution, to condescend to a removall, if a fitt place could be found, that might more conveniently and comfortablie receive the whole, with shuch accession of others as might come to them, for their better strength and subsistence; and some shuch like cau-

[1] The Assistants this year were the same as those of the last year, with the exception that Bradford took the place of Prence.

[2] That the plantation really suffered at this time may be gathered from the following resolution passed by the town January 14, 1642–43: "It is also agreed upon that the money remayneing of the poores stock shalbe to buy corne to releeve the present extreme necessities of such as are ready to perish for want of bread." The returns of the poors' stock in 1642 showed a balance due it of £15. 12*s*. 9*d*. *Records of the Town of Plymouth*, I. 10, 12.

tions and limitations. So as, with the afforesaide provissos, the greater parte consented to a removall to a place called Nawsett, which had been superficially viewed and the good will of the purchassers (to whom it belonged) obtained, with some addition thertoo from the Courte.[1] But now they begane to see their errour, that they had given away already the best and most commodious places to others, and now wanted them selves; for this place was about · 50· myles from hence, and at an outside of the countrie, remote from all society; also, that it would prove so straite, as it would not be competente to receive the whole body, much less be capable of any addition or increase; so as (at least in a shorte time) they should be worse ther then they are now hear. The which, with sundery other like considerations and inconveniences, made them chang their resolutions; but shuch as were before resoloved

[1] Nauset was included in one of the three tracts reserved, in 1640, to the "purchasers" (p. 285, *supra*), but no steps had been taken to occupy the place. A committee of the church now viewed the lands and reported in favor of taking them under an agreement with the "purchasers." Some doubt appears to have arisen on the report, and a second visit was made to Nauset, where it was recognized that only a part of the church could be accommodated in the proposed settlement, and so the removal of all was out of the question. The names of those who did remove were, Thomas Prence, who had married Patience, daughter of Elder Brewster, John Doane, Nicholas Snow, Josias Cook, Richard Higgins, John Smalley and Edward Bangs. They purchased the Indian rights to the lands from Mattaquason, sachem of Monamoyick, and of George, supposed to be the successor of Aspinet, permitting them to retain some corn land, to have liberty to fish in the cove near the town, and to share in the blubber of any whales that should be driven upon the shore. The General Court, March 3, 1644–45, extended the grant, so as to include what at a later day became Harwich and Truro; and in June, 1646, recognized Nauset as a township. Five years later the name was formally changed to Eastham. The Indian title does not appear to have been determined until 1666. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XLIV. 257.



The church at Eastham, says Cotton, "was the third which came forth as it were out of our bowels," that is, from the Plymouth Church. The other two were those of Duxbury and Marshfield. The first clergyman at Eastham was Rev. John Mayo, who had been serving as colleague of Rev. John Lothrop, at Barnstable, since 1640. Freeman, *History of Cape Cod*, II. 347.

upon removall tooke advantage of this agreemente, and wente on notwithstanding, neither could the rest hinder them, they haveing made some beginning.[1] And thus was this poore church left, like an anciente mother, growne olde, and forsaken of her children, (though not in their affections,) yett in regarde of their bodily presence and personall helpfullnes. Her anciente members being most of them worne away by death; and these of later time being like children translated into other families, and she like a widow left only to trust in God. Thus she that had made many rich became her selfe poore. [262] [2]

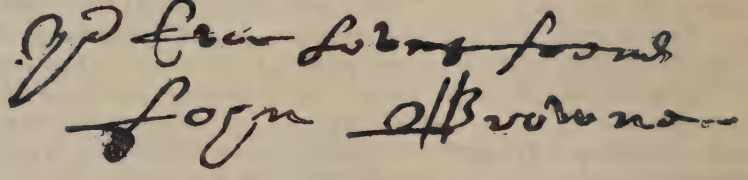
[1] Duxbury also required more land for its growth, and asked for an extension to the westward. The General Court in August, 1644, passed the following order: "Upon the petition of Duxbury men, it is thought good by the Court, that there be a view taken of the lands desired by them, namely, twelve miles up into the woods from Plymouth bounds at Jones river. And if it prove not prejudicial to the plantation to be erected at Teightaquid [Titicut], nor to the meadows of Plymouth at Winnytuckquett [Winnetuxet], it may be confirmed unto them." In the following year a competent proportion of lands about Saughtuckquett [Bridgewater] towards the west for a plantation was granted to the inhabitants of Duxbury, provided it did not entrench upon Winnytuckett, formerly granted to Plymouth. The number of inhabitants of Duxbury at that time who shared in the grant was fifty-four, and two additional shares were set aside for a minister and miller. The names of the proprietors, with Bradford first on the list, are in a deed from Ousamequin [Massasoit], sachem of Pokanoket, dated March 23, 1649–50. Bridgewater, the name given in 1656, was the first interior settlement in the county of Plymouth, and two of the early Plymouth settlers came to the new plantation, William Basset, a passenger in the *Fortune*, in 1621, and Experience Mitchell, who came in the *Ann*, in 1623. 2 *Mass. Hist. Colllections*, VII. 138–148; Mitchell, *History of the Early Settlement of Bridgewater*.

[2] The Commissioners of the United Colonies in their meeting of September, 1644, took into consideration the question of the support of the churches in the different governments. The motion undoubtedly came from the ministers of the Bay, and in all probability in connection with the proposition made by Rev. Thomas Shepard, pastor to the church at Cambridge, for a general contribution for the maintenance of poor scholars at the newly established college in that place. While this proposition received the unquestioning commendation of the Commissioners, "as a matter worthy of due consideration and entertainment for advance of learning," the question of supporting the churches called out a doubt from one of the Plymouth representatives,

Some things handled, and pacified by the commissioner[s] this year.

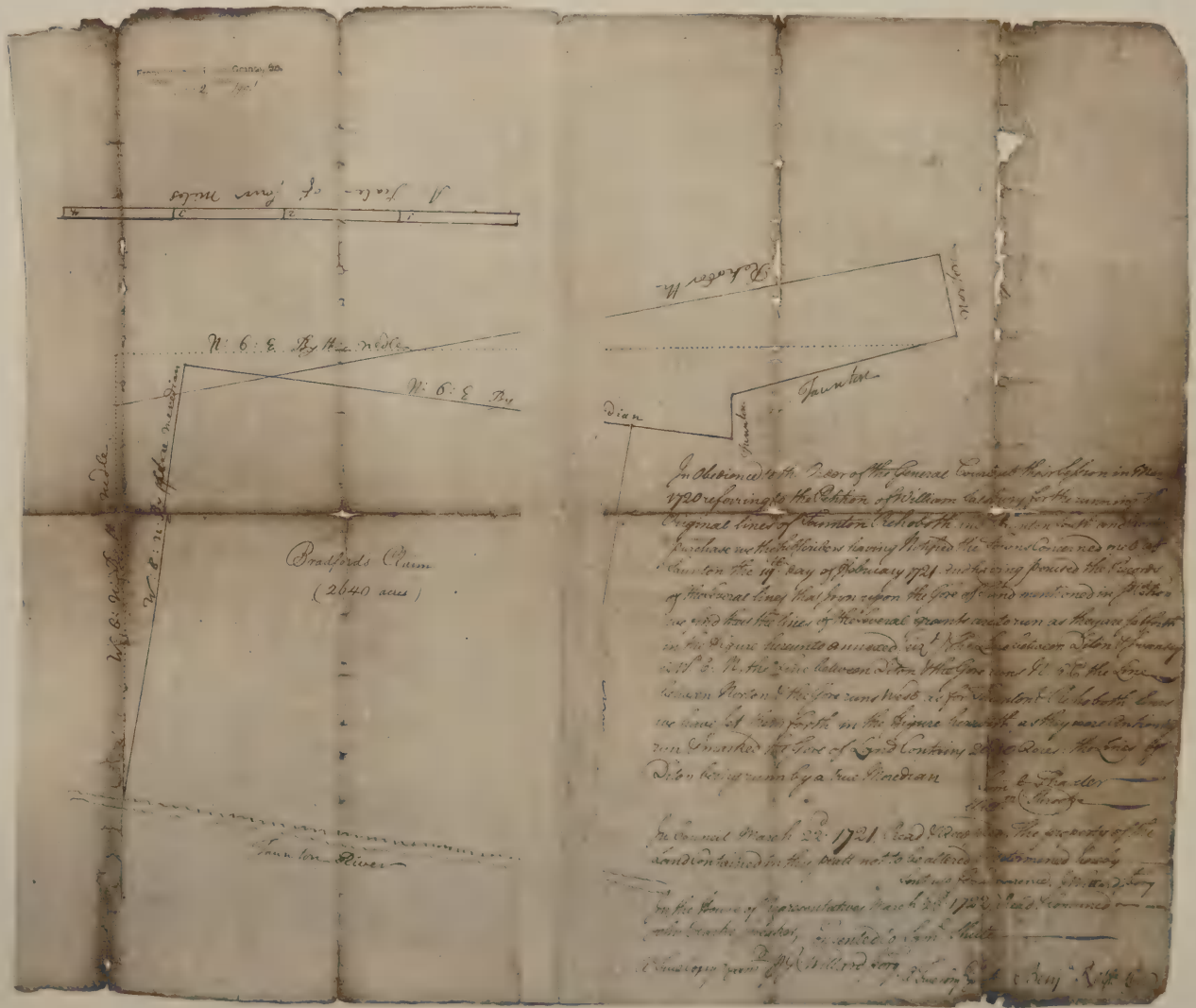
Wheras, by a wise providence of God, tow of the jurisdictions in the westerne parts, viz. Conightecutt and New-haven, have beene latly exercised by sundrie insolencies and outrages from the Indeans; as,

John Browne. It is hardly probable that in so important a matter, one that would be strongly urged by Massachusetts Bay, Browne acted without consulting and receiving the approval of his colleague, Edward Winslow. No records exist to show how the ministers of Plymouth Plantation were supported, or the manner in which the money was raised. The Plantation made grants of land to each minister, but presumably this was to him as a member of the community and not to the pastor. It was a personal allotment, not in the nature of a glebe. The description by Winthrop of his visit to Plymouth in 1632 includes a contribution at the termination



of the Lord's day service, of which the Deacon put the congregation in mind. P. 161, *supra*. An enforced contribution, by way of taxation, was offensive to some, as in the case of Nathaniel Briscoe of Watertown; but from that method to a belief that the ministry should be unpaid, a variety of opinions prevailed and practises existed. The Commissioners of the United Colonies in 1644 made the following entry to their minutes:

"Whereas the most considerable persons in these colonies came into these parts of America that they might enjoy Christ in his ordinances without disturbance, and whereas among many other precious mercies the ordinances have beene and are dispenced among us with much puritie and power. The Commissioners tooke it into their serious consideration how some due mayntenance according to God might be provided and setled both for the present and future for the encouragement of the ministers who labour therein and concluded to propound and commend it to eich generall Court, That those that are taught in the word in the severall plantations be called together, that euery man voluntaryly set downe what he is willing to allow to that end and use. And if any man refuse to pay a meete proportion, that then hee be rated by authoryty in some just and equall way. And if after this any man withhold or delay due payment, the ciuill power to be exercised as in other just debts." Against the last sentence is noted in the margin: "Mr. Browne desired further consideration about the 2 last clauses of this conclusion." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 19. The question appears to have rested for some years. *Hutchinson Papers*, *285.



TAUNTON - REHOBOTH LINE.

first, an Englishman, runing from his m[aste]r out of the Massachusets, was murdered in the woods, in or nere the limites of Conightecute jurisdiction;[1] and aboute ·6· weeks after, upon discovery by an Indean, the Indean Sagamore[s] in these parts promised to deliver the murderer to the English, bound; and having accordingly brought him within the sight of Uncaway,[2] by their joynte consente, as it is informed, he was ther unbound, and left to shifte for him selfe; wherupon ·10· Englishmen forthwith coming to the place, being sente by Mr. Ludlow, at the Indeans desire, to receive the murderer, who seeing him escaped, layed hold of ·8· of the[3] Indeans ther presente, amongst whom ther was a sagamore or ·2· and kept them in hold ·2· days, till ·4· sagamors ingaged themselves within one month to deliver the prisoner. And about a weeke after this agreemente, an Indean came presumtuously and with guile, in the day time, and murtherously assalted an English woman in her house at Stamford, and by ·3· wounds, supposed mortall, left her for dead, after he had robbed the house.[4] By which passages the English were provoaked, and called to a due consideration of their owne saftie; and the Indeans generally in those parts arose in an hostile manner, refused to come to the English to carry on treaties of peace, departed from their wigwames, left their corne unweeded,[5] and shewed them selves tumultu-

[1] The murder was committed between Stamford and Uncoway (Fairfield). For nearly two years the magistrates of Stamford had experienced difficulties in their relations with the Indians near that settlement, and had appealed to the other English settlements for advice and assistance. The "insolencies and outrages" of the Indians became such that Stamford wished to declare war, could the coöperation of New Haven be obtained. Not long after the Indians began hostilities in a series of murders. *New Haven Col. Rec.*, I. 69, 79, 119, 134. Ludlow's letter stated that he had caused seven Indians to be apprehended, hoping thereby to secure a surrender of the murderers. The Indians began to come in large numbers round the town, and New Haven offered to send aid. *Ib.* 134.

[2] Uncoway (Un-quo-wa, as Hollister gives it) was a settlement begun by Roger Ludlow, and later became Fairfield. Schenck, *History of Fairfield*, I. 2.

[3] "or 9" — an easy error to make "y^e^" into 9.

[4] The name of the woman was Phelps, that of her assailant, Busheag. The woman recovered and identified the Indian, who was condemned to die by decapitation. Winthrop, *History*, II. *189; Huntington, *History of Stamford*, 106.

[5] As the Indian tribes in the neighborhood of the settlements on the Connecticut

ously about some of the English plantations, and shott of peeces within hearing of the towne; and some Indeans came to the English and tould them the Indeans would fall upon them. So that most of the English thought it unsafe to travell in those parts by land, and some of the plantations were put upon strong watches and ward, night and day, and could not attend their private occasions, and yet distrusted their owne strength for their defence. Wherupon Hartford and New-Haven were sent unto for aide, and saw cause both to send into the weaker parts of their owne jurisdiction thus in danger, and New-Haven, for conveniencie of situation, sente aide to Uncaway, though belonging to Conightecutt. Of all which passages they presently acquainted the comissioners in the Bay, and had the allowance and approbation from the Generall Courte ther, with directions neither to hasten a warr nor to bear shuch insolencies too longe. Which courses, though chargable to them selves, yet through Gods blessing they hope [the] fruite is, and will be, sweete and wholsome to all the collonies; the murderers are since delivered to justice, the publick peace preserved for the presente, and probabillitie it may be better secured for the future.[1]

Thus this mischeefe was prevented, and the fear of a warr hereby diverted. But now an other broyle was begune by the Narigan-

were obliged to pay an annual tribute to the English in corn, the care of the growing crops formed an assurance for the payment. The action of the natives in neglecting this duty was interpreted as a declaration that they did not intend to fulfil the conditions of tribute, under which alone they held and could enjoy the lands retained or assigned to them for cultivation. As corn constituted the great, if not the sole, circulating medium in the plantations, the currency in which workmen received their wages, the disturbance caused by a failure of the supply would be serious.

[1] *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 26. Bradford omits to state that on the question of distributing the charges of this incident, it was decided that the jurisdictions immediately concerned should meet the expense, and the general rule laid down that "till warr be begunn vpon some one of the Colonies by an Actuall Assault, no charge shalbe expected from the rest of the Jurisdiccons." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 27. Such a resolution exerted a restraining influence upon each jurisdiction facing the question of war and its attendant expenses, and relieved a plantation, like Plymouth, from any share in the cost of local expeditions.

sets; though they unjustly had made warr upon Uncass, (as is before declared,) and had, the winter before this, ernestly presed the Gove[rno]r of the Massachusets that they might still make warr upon them to revenge the death of their sagamore, which being taken prisoner, was by them put to death, (as before was noted,) pretending that they had first received and accepted his ransome, and then put him to death. But the Gove[rno]r refused their presents,[1] and tould them that it was them selves had done the wronge, and broaken the conditions of peace; and he nor the English neither could nor would allow them to make any further warr upon him, but if they did, must assiste him, and oppose them; but if it did appeare, upon good proofe, that he had received a ransome for his life, before he put him to death, when the comissioners mett, they should have a fair hearing, and they would cause Uncass to returne the same. But notwithstanding, at the spring of the year they gathered a great power, and fell upon Uncass, and slue sundrie of his men, and wounded more, and also had some loss them selves. Uncass cald for aide from the English; they tould him what the Narigansets objected, he deney[ed] the same; they tould him it must come to triall, and if he was inocente, if the Narigansets would not desiste, they would aide and assiste him. So at this meeting they [263] sent both to Uncass and the Narrigansets,[2] and required their sagamors to come or send to the comissioners now mete at Hartford, and they should have a faire and inpartiall hearing in all their greevances, and would endeavor that all wrongs

[1] See *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 41. The present was sent by messengers from Pessacus, and left with Winthrop; but when the facts were laid before the Commissioners they directed its return. Captain Robert Harding and Mr. Samuel Wilbore carried the present back to the Narragansetts, with instructions to return it, but they did not carry out their orders, and for this, among other faults, they were declared worthy of censure.

[2] Thomas Stanton was sent to Pessacus, Canonicus and other Narragansett Indians, and Nathaniel Willett went to Uncas, Sagamore of the Mohegans. The instructions given to the messengers are printed in *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 17. The names of the Indians who answered the summons are given on p. 375, *infra*.

should be rectified wher they should be found; and they promised that they should safly come and returne without any danger or molestation; and sundry the like things, as appears more at large in the messengers instructions. Upon which the Narigansets sent one sagamore and some other deputies, with full power to doe in the case as should be meete. Uncass came in person, accompanyed with some cheefe aboute him. After the agitation of the bussines, the issue was this. The comissioners declared to the Narigansett deputies as followeth:

1. That they did not find any proofe of any ransome agreed on.
2. It appeared not that any wampam had been paied as a ransome, or any parte of a ransome, for Myantinomos life.
3. That if they had in any measure proved their charge against Uncass, the comissioners would have required him to have made answerable satisfaction.
4. That if hereafter they can make satisf[y]ing profe, the English will consider the same, and proceed accordingly.
5. The comissioners did require that neither them selves nor the Nyanticks make any warr or injurious assaulte upon Unquass or any of his company untill they make profe of the ransume charged, and that due satisfaction be deneyed, unless he first assaulte them.
6. That if they assaulte Uncass, the English are engaged to assist him.

Hearupon the Narigansette sachim, advising with the other deputies, ingaged him selfe in the behalfe of the Narigansets and Nyanticks that no hostile acts should be comitted upon Uncass, or any of his, untill after the next planting of corne; and that after that, before they begine any warr, they will give·30·days warning to the Gove[rno]r of the Massachusets or Conightecutt. The comissioners approving of this offer, and taking their ingagmente under their hands, required Uncass, as he expected the continuance of the favour of the English, to observe the same termes of peace with the Narigansets and theirs.

These foregoing conclusions were subscribed by the comissioners, for the severall jurisdictions, the ·19· of Sept: 1644.

EDWA: HOPKINS, Presidente.
SIMON BRADSTREETE.
WILLM. HATHORNE.
EDW: WINSLOW.
JOHN BROWNE.
GEOR: FENWICK.
THEOPH: EATON.
THO: GREGSON.[1]

The forenamed Narigansets deputies did further promise, that if, contrary to this agreemente, any of the Nyantick Pequents should make any assaulte upon Uncass, or any of his, they would deliver them up to the English, to be punished according to their demerits; and that they would not use any means to procure the Mowacks[2] to come against Uncass during this truce.

These were their names subscribed with their marks.

WEETOWISH. CHINNOUGH.
PAMPIAMETT. PUMMUNISH.[3]

[264]

[1] Bradford has omitted to record the promise of the Indians, which is in *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 30. The date is there given September 18.

[2] Mohawks.

[3] *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 29. The Indian names are given differently in this publication, viz. Pawpiamet, Chimough and Pumumshe. Weetowish is described as a Narragansett sachem, and Pummunish and Pawpiamet as two Narragansett captains. The "mark" of Weetowish is reproduced in the *Plymouth Col. Rec.* at this place, but it is quite different from that for Witowash, the same Indian, given on p. 48 of the Colony Records and on p. 387, *infra*.

A glimpse is given of a division into parties in a letter from John Endecott to John Winthrop, June 23, 1644. "I understand by Mr. Thompson of our Towne, the sea man, that there is a great partie for the Kinge to the Eastward, and that they are making some preparations for some designes. They intertayned twoe of our Towne (Fayning themselues to be Caualiers) with much loue and good cheere, and they perceaue that something is in hand. They were plotting to take the Plimmoth pinnace, and were sorrie they missed their opportunitie. It is about Richmond Iland that which I speake of, but they haue a partie in all these partes." 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 148.

Anno Dom: ·1645·

THE comissioners this year were caled to meete together at Boston, before their ordinarie time; [1] partly in regard of some differances falen betweene the French and the govermente of the Massachusets, about their aiding of Munseire Latore against Munsseire de Aulney,[2] and partly aboute the Indeans, who had broaken the former agreements [3] aboute the peace concluded the last year. This meeting was held at Boston, the 28. of July.

Besides some underhand assualts made on both sides, the Narigansets gathered a great power, and fell upon Uncass, and slew many of his men, and wounded more, by reason that they farr exseeded him in number, and had gott store of peeces, with which they did him most hurte. And as they did this withoute the knowledg and consente of the English, (contrary to former agreemente,) so they were resolved to prosecute the same, notwithstanding any thing the English said or should doe against them. So, being incouraged by ther late victorie, and promise of assistance from the Mowacks, (being a strong, warlike, and desperate people,) they had allready devoured Uncass and his, in their hopes; and surly they had done

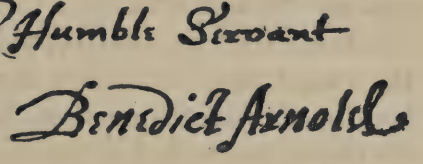
[1] The records describe this as an "extraordinary meeting," and was ordered (May 14, 1645) to be called by the Massachusetts government with particular reference to the French question. The Commissioners of that Colony were unprepared to state their case when the representatives assembled. The Commissioners from Plymouth were Thomas Prence and John Browne. John Winthrop presided over the sessions.

[2] In this contest between the two French commanders New Plymouth took no part. But it called out the statement by Aulnay given in a note on p. 207, *supra*.

[3] That negotiated at Hartford in 1644, by the Commissioners, and that entered into by the Indians and the magistrates of Connecticut at the same place, September 21, 1638.

it in deed, if the English had not timly sett in for his aide. For those of Conightecute sent him ·40· men, who were a garison to him, till the comissioners could meete and take further order.

Being thus mett, they forthwith sente ·3· messengers, viz. Sargent John Davis, Benedicte Arnold,[1] and Francis Smith, with full and ample instructions,[2] both to the Narigansets and Uncass; to require them that they should either come in person or send sufficiente men fully instructed to deale in the bussines; and if they refused or delayed, to let them know (according to former agreements) that the English are engaged to assiste against these hostile invasions, and that they have sente their men to defend Uncass, and to know of the Narigansets whether they will stand to the former peace, or they will assaulte the English also,[3] that they may provide accordingly.



But the messengers returned, not only with a sleighting, but a threatening answer from the Narigansets (as will more appear hereafter). Also they brought a letter from Mr. Roger Williams, wherin he assures them that the warr would presenly breake forth, and the whole country would be all of a flame.[4] And that the sachems of

[1] Arnold went to the Narragansett and Niantick Indians.

[2] The instructions are printed in *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 32.

[3] The instructions read "or whether they will assault the English now with the Mohegans."

[4] The letter of Williams has not been preserved. The outbreak of the Indians threatened the Rhode Island settlement, because of its nearness to the tribes most deeply concerned. This proximity also placed Roger Williams in a proper relation to learn what were the real motives of the Narragansetts in undertaking a war with the English. To Winthrop he wrote that the Indians were seeking to avenge the death of Miantunomo. "The Narrigansets and Monhiggens, with their respective confederates, haue deepely implunged themselues in barbarous slaughters. For my selfe, I haue (to my vtmost) diswaded our neighbours, high and low, from armes, etc. but there is a spirit of desperacion fallen vpon them, resolued to revenge the death of their

the Narigansets had concluded a newtrality with the English of Providence and those of Aquidnett Iland. Wherupon the comissioners, considering the great danger and provocations offered, and the necessitie we should be put unto of making war with the Narigansets, and being also carfull, in a matter of so great waight and generall concernmente, to see the way cleared, and to give satisfaction to all the colonies, did thinke fitte to advise with such of the magistrates, and elders of the Massachusets as were then at hand, and also with some of the cheefe millitary comanders ther; who being assembled, it was then agreed,[1]

First, that our ingagmente bound us to aide and defend Uncass. 2. That this ayde could not be intended only to defend him and his [in his] forte, or habitation, but (according to the comone acceptation of shuch covenants, or ingagments, considered with the grounds or occasion therof) so to ayde him as he might be preserved in his liberty and estate. 3ly. That this ayde [265] must be speedy, least he might be swalowed up in the mean time, and so come to late. 4ly. The justice of this warr being cleared to our selves and the rest then presente, it was thought meete that the case should be [briefly] stated, and the reasons and grounds of the warr declared and published. 5ly. That a day of humilliation should be apoynted, which was the ·5· day of the weeke following. 6ly. It was then allso agreed by the comissioners that the whole number of men to be raised in all the colonies should be ·300· Whereof from the Massachusets a ·190· Plimoth, ·40· Conightecute, ·40· New-Haven, ·30· And considering that Uncass was in present danger, ·40· men of this number were forthwith sente from the Massachusets for his sucoure; [2] and it was but neede, for the other

prince, and recover their ransome for his life, etc. or to perish with him." This letter was written on June 25, 1645, and Williams urged the maintenance of peace. 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 266.

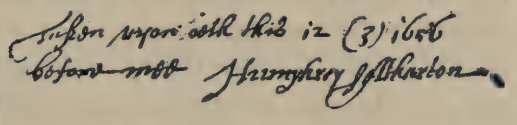
[1] This Declaration is printed in *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 50. This paragraph after the opening sentence is almost word for word from the records of the Commissioners.

[2] The forty men from Massachusetts were under the command of Lieutenant

·40· from Conightecutt had order to stay but a month, and their time being out, they returned; and the Narigansets, hearing therof, tooke the advantage, and came suddanly upon him, and gave him another blow, to his further loss, and were ready to doe the like againe; but these ·40· men being arrived, they returned, and did nothing.

The declarations which they sett forth I shall not transcribe, it being very large, and put forth in printe,[1] to which I referr those that would see the same, in which all passages are layed open from the first. I shall only note their prowd carriage, and answers to the ·3· messengers sent from the comissioners. They received them with scorne and contempte, and tould them they resoloved to have no peace without Uncass his head; also they gave them this further answer: that it mattered not who begane the warr, they were resolved to follow it, and that the English should withdraw their garison from Uncass, or they would procure the Mowakes against them; and withall gave them this threatening answer: that they would lay the English catle on heaps, as high as their houses, and that no English-man should sturr out of his dore to pisse, but he

Humphrey Atherton and Sergeant John Davies. They were to go to Monhegan and remain there till Captain Mason should arrive, when they were to place themselves under his command, and then proceed to the Narragansett or Nianticks country where the rest of the force would meet them. The men raised in Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay (apart from the forty already sent) were to meet at Seecunck, now Rehoboth. As the Nianticks were regarded as the chief incendiaries and causes of the war, Mason's instructions directed him to punish them first. The Plymouth and Massachusetts forces were to go against the Narragansetts, "or to divide themselues as the service may require, and as oppertunity serueth." The action of the Massachusetts commissioners was not satisfactory to the General Court, which gave it a qualified approval only, at the same time securing the appointment of Major Edward Gibbons to the supreme command. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 34–37.



[1] *A Declaration of Former Passages and Proceedings betwixt the English and the Narrowgansets, with their Confederates.* 1645.

should be kild. And wheras they required guides to pass throw their countrie, to deliver their message to Uncass from the comissioners, they deneyed them, but at length (in way of scorne) offered them an old Pequente woman. Besides allso they conceived them selves in danger, for whilst the interpretoure [1] was speakeing with them about the answer he should returne, ·3· men came and stood behind him with ther hatchets, according to their murderous maner; but one of his fellows gave him notice of it, so they broak of and came away; with sundry shuch like affrontes, which made those Indeans they carryed with them to rune away for fear, and leave them to goe home as they could.[2]

Thus whilst the comissioners in care of the publick peace sought to quench the fire kindled amongst the Indeans, these children of strife breath out threatenings, provocations, and warr against the English them selves. So that, unless they should dishonour and provoak God, by violating a just ingagmente, and expose the colonies to contempte and danger from the barbarians, they cannot but exerciese force, when no other means will prevaile to reduse the Narigansets and their confederates to a more just and sober temper.

So as here upon they went on to hasten the preparations, according to the former agreemente, and sent to Plimoth to send forth their ·40· men with all speed, to lye at Seacunke, least any deanger should befalle it, before the rest were ready, it lying next the enemie, and ther to stay till the Massachusetts should joyne with them. Allso Conigtecute and Newhaven forces were to joyne togeather, and march with all speed, and the Indean confederates of those parts with them. All which was done accordingly; and the souldiers of this place were at Seacunk, the place of their rendevouze, ·8· or ·10· days before the rest were ready; they were well armed all

[1] Benedict Arnold.

[2] Bradford has here summarized or quoted from the "Declaration." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 54.

with snaphance peeces, and wente under the camand of Captain [266] Standish. Those from other places were led likwise by able comander[s], as Captaine Mason for Conigtecute, etc.; and Majore Gibons was made generall over the whole, with shuch comissions and instructions as was meete.

Upon the suden dispatch of these souldiears, (the present necessitie requiring it,) the deputies of the Massachusetts Courte (being now assembled immediatly after the setting forth of their ·40· men) made a question whether it was legally done, without their comission.[1] It was answered, that howsoever it did properly belong to the authority of the severall jurisdictions (after the warr was agreed upon by the comissioners, and the number of men) to provid the men and means to carry on the warr; yet in this presente case, the proceeding of the comissioners and the comission given was as sufficiente as if it had been done by the Generall Courte.

1. First, it was a case of shuch presente and urgente necessitie, as could not stay the calling of the Courte or Counsell. 2ly. In the Articles of Confederation, power is given to the comissioners to consult, order, and determine all affaires of warr, etc. And the word *determine* comprehends all acts of authority belonging therunto.

3ly. The comissioners are the [sole] judges of the necessitie of the expedition.

4ly. The Generall Courte have made their owne comissioners their sole counsell for these aff[a]ires.

5ly. These counsels could not have had their due effecte excepte they had power to proceede in this case, as they have done; which were to make the comissioners power, and the maine end of the confederation, to be frustrate, and that mearly for observing a ceremony.

6ly. The comissioners haveing sole power to manage the warr for number of men, for time, place, etc., they only know their owne coun-

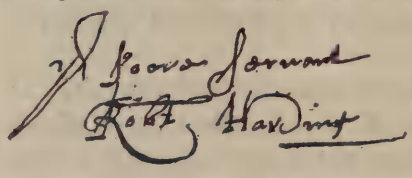
[1] The minutes of the special session of the General Court will be found in *Mass. Col. Rec.*, III. 39. The decision of the Commissioners and discussion leading up to it are in *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 36.

sells, and *determinations*, and therefore none can grante commission to acte according to these but them selves.[1]

All things being thus in readines, and some of the souldiers gone forth, and the rest ready to march, the comissioners thought it meete before any hostile acte was performed, to cause a presente to be returned, which had been sente to the Gove[rno]r of the Massachusetts from the Narigansett sachems, but not by him received, but layed up to be accepted or refused as they should carry them selves, and observe the covenants. Therfore they violating the same, and standing out thus to a warr, it was againe returned, by · 2 · messengers and an interpretour.[2] And further to let

[1] *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 36.

[2] "The Bay had provided an army to go against the Narragansetts, had they not been prevented in the very interim, thus. Captain Harding informed the Court of the difficulty of the enterprize, upon which the Court employed him and Mr. Wilbour, to go to Narragansetts, and take Benedict [Arnold] to interpret. When they came to Benedict, he refused to go without a hundred men in arms, only to possess them with danger, to effect his bloody plot; upon which Mr. Williams, being sent for to Narragansett, and also myself, to inquire of us, what the minds of these mad people were, to kill men for nothing; upon which I went to Providence, a thinking to go with Master Williams; but when I came there, he was gone with the Captain and Mr. Wilbour, upon Benedict's refusal. I stayed their return, and their agreement was to have Pessicus go into the Bay, and Master Williams was necessitated to put himself hostage till his return. This news coming into the Bay, did so vex the ministers, that Master Cotton preached upon it, that it being so wicked an act to take Master Williams with them, being one cast out of the Church. It was all one as to ask counsel of a witch, and that those that did it were worthy to die. Upon which Master Wilbour was ready to die, for fear he should be hanged. So then the Indians went down, and they compelled them to cease wars with Uncas, and to pay them five hundred pounds, for charges of Court, and provisions for soldiers, and to leave four of the chief sachem's children, till the money be paid, and to leave four of his chief men till the children came, and to promise them not to sell any land without their consent." *J. W. to Samuel Gorton*, November 20, 1645. *Simplicities Defence*, (in *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, II. 171, 172.) The editor of the volume, William R. Staples, believes John Wickes or John Warner was the writer. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 41, 43.



know that their men already sent to Uncass (and other wher sent forth) have hitherto had express order only to stand upon his and their owne defence, and not to attempte any invasion of the Narigansetts country; and yet if they may have due reperation for what is past, and good securitie for the future, it shall appear they are as desirous of peace, and shall be as tender of the Narigansets blood as ever. If therefore Pessecuss, Innemo, with other sachemes, will (without further delay) come along with you to Boston, the comissioners doe promise and assure them, they shall have free liberty to come, and retourne without molestation or any just greevance from the English. But deputies will not now serve, nor may the preparations in hand be now stayed, or the directions given recalled, till the forementioned sagamores come, and some further order be taken. But if they will have nothing but warr, the English are providing, and will proceede accordingly.

Pessecouss, Mixano, and Witowash, ·3· principall sachems of the Narigansett Indeans, and Amasequen, deputie for the Nyanticks,[1] with a large traine of men, within a few days after came to Boston.

And to omitte all other circomstances and debates that past betweene them and the comissioners, they came to this conclusion following. [267]

1.[2] It was agreed betwixte the comissioners of the United Collonies, and the forementioned sagamores, and Niantick deputie, that the said Narigansets and Niantick sagamores should pay or cause to be payed at Boston, to the Massachusets comissioners, the full sume of ·2000· fathome of good white wampame, or a third parte of black wampampeage, in ·4· payments; namely, ·500· fathome within ·20· days, ·500· fathome within ·4· months, ·500· fathome at or before next planting time, and ·500· fathome within ·2· years next after the date

[1] None of these Indians came into close relations with New Plymouth.

[2] This is the third paragraph in the articles of peace as given in *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 45, and all following paragraphs are numbered accordingly.

of these presents; which · 2000 fathome the comissioners accepte for satisfaction of former charges expended.

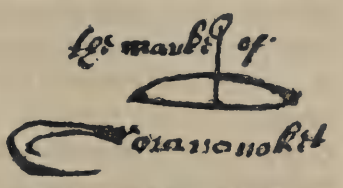
2. The foresaid sagamores and deputie (on the behalfe of the Narigansett and Niantick Indeans) hereby promise and covenante that they [will] upon demand and profe satisfie and restore unto Uncass, the Mohigan sagamore, all shuch captives, whether men, or women, or children, and all shuch canoowes, as they or any of their men have taken, or as many of their owne canowes in the roome of them, full as good as they were, with full satisfaction for all shuch corne as they or any of theire men have spoyled or destroyed, of his or his mens, since last planting time; and the English comissioners hereby promise that Uncass shall doe the like.

3. Wheras ther are sundry differences and greevances betwixte Narigansett and Niantick Indeans, and Uncass and his men, (which in Uncass his absence cannot now be detirmined,) it is hearby agreed that Nariganset and Niantick sagamores either come them selves, or send their deputies to the next meeting of the commissioners for the collonies, either at New-Haven in Sep[tember], 1646, or sooner (upon conveniente warning, if the said comissioners doe meete sooner), fully instructed to declare and make due proofe of their injuries, and to submite to the judgmente of the comissioners [for the United Colonies], in giving or receiving satisfaction; and the said comissioners (not doubting but Uncass will either come him selfe, or send his deputies, in like maner furnished) promising [promise] to give a full hearing to both parties with equall justice, without any partiall respects, according to their allegations and profse [promises].

4. The said Narigansett and Niantick sagamores and deputies[1] doe hearby promise and covenante to keep and maintaine a firme and perpetuall peace, both with all the English United Colonies and their successors, and with Uncass, the Monhegan sachem, and his men; with Ossamequine, Pumham, Sokananoke, Cutshamakin, Shoanan, Passaconaway, and all other Indean sagamores, and their companies, who are in freindship with or subjecte to any of the English; hearby

[1] Both Bradford and the *Plymouth Col. Rec.* use the plural "deputies," although only one deputy of the Nianticks was present.

ingaging them selves, that they will not at any time hearafter disturbe the peace of the cuntry, by any assaults, hostile attempts, invasions, or other injuries, to any of the Unnited Collonies, or their successors; or to the afforesaid Indeans; either in their persons, buildings, catle, or goods, directly or indirectly; nor will they confederate with any other against them; and if they know of any Indeans or others that conspire or intend hurt against the said English, or any Indeans subjecte to or in freindship with them, they will without delay acquainte and give notice thereof to the English Commissioners, or some of them.



SOCANONOKET, SACHEM OF PAUTUXET

Or [and] if any questions or differences shall at any time hereafter arise or grow betwext them and Uncass, or any Endeans before mentioned, they will, according to former ingagments (which they hearby confirme and ratifie) first acquainte the English, and crave their judgments and advice therin; and will not attempte or begine any warr, or hostille invasion, till they have liberty and alowance from the comissioners of the United Collonies so to doe.

5. The said Narigansets and Niantick sagamores and deputies doe hearby promise that they will forthwith deliver and restore all such Indean fugitives, or captives which have at any time fled from any of the English, and are now living or abiding [with or] amongst them, or give due satisfaction for them to the comissioners for the Massachusets; and further, that they will (without more delays) pay, or cause to be payed, a yearly tribute, a month before [Indian] harvest, every year after this, at Boston, to the English Colonies, for all shuch Pequents as live amongst them, according to the former treaty and agreemente, made at Hartford, · 1638 · namly, one fathome of white wampam for every Pequente man, and halfe a fathume for each Pequente youth, and one hand length [of wampum] for each mal-child. And if Weequashcooke refuse to pay this tribute for any Pequents with him, the Narigansetts sagamores promise to assiste the English against him. And they further covenante that they will resigne and

yeeld up the whole Pequente cuntrie, and every parte of it, to the English collonies, as due to them by conquest.

6. The said Narigansett and Niantick sagamores and deputie doe hereby promise and covenante that within · 14 · days they will bring and deliver to the Massachusetts comissioners on the behalfe of [all] the collonies, [268] foure of their children, viz. Pessecous his eldest sonn, the sone [of] Tassaquanawite, brother to Pessecouss, Awashawe his sone, and Ewangsos sone, a Niantick, to be kepte (as hostages and pledges) by the English, till both the forementioned · 2000 · fathome of wampam be payed at the times appoynted, and the differences betweexte themselves and Uncass be heard and ordered, and till these artickles [of agreement] be under writen at Boston, by Ienemo and Wipetock. And further they hereby promise and covenante, that if at any time hearafter any of the said children shall make escape, or be conveyed away from the English, before the premisses be fully accomplished, they will either bring back and deliver to the Massachusett comissioners the same children, or, if they be not to be founde, shuch and so many other children, to be chosen by the comissioners for the United Collonies, or their assignes, and that within · 20 · days after demand, and in the mean time, untill the said · 4 · children be delivered as hostages, the Narigansett and Niantick sagamores and deputy doe, freely and of their owne accorde, leave with the Massachusett comissioners, as pledges for presente securitie, · 4 · Indeans, namely, Witowash, Pumanise [Pumamse], Jawashoe, Waughwamino, who allso freely consente, and offer them selves to stay as pledges, till the said children be brought and delivered as abovesaid.

7. The comissioners for the United Collonies doe hereby promise and agree that, at the charge of the United Collonies, the · 4 · Indeans now left as pledges shall be provided for, and that the · 4 · children to be brought and delivered as hostages shall be kepte and maintained at the same charge; that they will require Uncass and his men, with all other Indean sagamores before named, to forbear all acts of hostilitie againste the Narigansetts and Niantick Indeans for the future. And further, all the premises being duly observed and kept by the Narigansett and Niantick Indians and their company, they will at the

end of ·2· years restore the said children delivered as hostiages, and retaine a firme peace with the Narigansets and Nianticke Indeans and their successours.

8. It is fully agreed by and betwixte the said parties, that if any hostile attempte be made while this treaty is in hand, or before notice of this agreemente (to stay further [former] preparations and directions) can be given, shuch attempts and the consequenets therof shall on neither parte be accounted a violation of this treaty, nor a breach of the peace hear made and concluded.

9. The Narigansets and Niantick sagamores and deputie hereby agree and covenante to and with the comissioners of the United Collonies, that henceforth they will neither give, grante, sell, or in any maner alienate, any parte of their countrie, nor any parcell of land therin, either to any of the English or others, without consente or allowance of the [said] commissioners.

10. Lastly, they promise that, if any Pequente or other be found and discovered amongst them who hath in time of peace murdered any of the English, he or they shall be delivered to just punishmente.

In witness wherof the parties above named have interchaingablie subscribed these presents, the day and year above writen.

John Winthrop, President.	Pessecouss his mark
Herbert Pelham.	Meekesano his mark
Tho: Prence.	Witowash his mark
John Browne.	Aumsequen his mark
Geo: Fenwick.	*the Niantick deputy.*
Edwa: Hopkins.	Abdas his mark
Theoph: Eaton.	Pummash his mark
Steven Goodyeare.	Cutchamakin his mark [1]

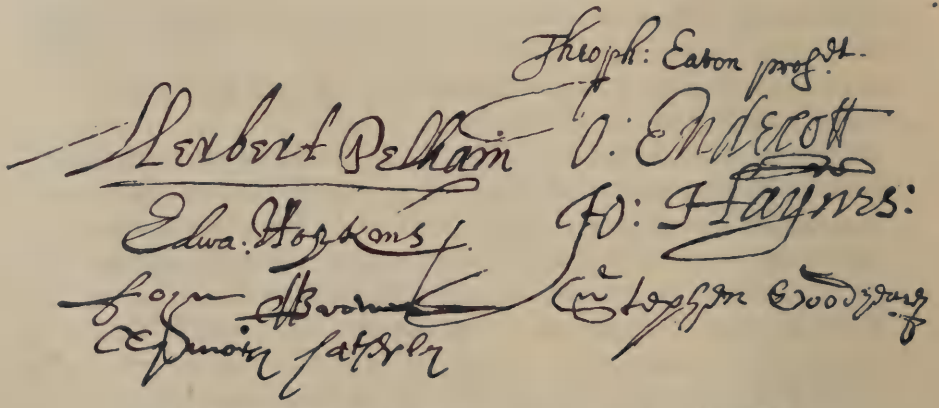
This treaty and agreemente betwixte the comissioners of the United Collonies and the sagamores and deputy of Narrigansets and Nian-

[1] A comparison of the marks thus entered for the Indians with those in the *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, IX. 48, shows that the imitation is crude and in neither instance can be taken as genuine representations of the signs. Gorton also gives the marks of Pessacus and Mixano in his *Simplicities Defence*. The Colony Records do not give the names of the English signers.

tick Indeans was made and concluded, Benedicte Arnold being interpretour upon his oath; Sergante Callicate [1] and an Indean, his man, being presente, and Josias and Cutshamakin, tow Indeans aquainted with the English language, assisting therin; who opened and cleared the whole treaty, and every article, to the sagamores and deputie there [then] presente.

And thus was the warr at this time stayed and prevented. [269]

[1] Richard Collicott, of Dorchester.



COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED COLONIES, 1646

Anno Dom: ·1646·

ABOUT the midle of May, this year, came in ·3· ships into this harbor, in warrlike order; they were found to be men of warr. The captains name was Crumwell, who had taken sundrie prizes from the Spaniards in the West Indies. He had a comission from the Earle of Warwick. He had abord his vessels about ·80· lustie men, (but very unruly,) who, after they came ashore, did so distemper them selves with drinke as they became like madd-men; and though some of them were punished and imprisoned, yet could they hardly be restrained; yet in the ende they became more moderate and orderly. They continued here aboute a month or ·6· weeks, and then went to the Massachusets; in which time they spente and scattered a great deale of money among the people, and yet more sine (I fear) then money, notwithstanding all the care and watchfullnes that was used towards them, to prevente what might be.[1]

In which time one sadd accidente fell out. A desperate fellow of the company fell a quar[e]ling with some of his company. His cap-

[1] Thomas Cromwell, whom Winthrop describes in 1646 as "about ten years since a common seaman in the Massachusetts." During these years he came into relations with a Captain Jackson, who was taking prizes in the West Indies for the Company of Providence Island, to the governorship of which John Humfrey, of New England, had recently been appointed. About 1642, Jackson sailed under a commission from the Earl of Warwick, and as a privateer captain committed acts practically of piracy. Cromwell had a commission from Jackson, and now with three ships, frigates of cedar of about sixty to eighty tons, and eighty men, was going to Boston to dispose of his prizes. "By a strong northwest wind they were forced into Plimouth, (divine providence so directing for the comfort and help of that town, which was now almost deserted,) where they continued about fourteen days or more, and spent liberally and gave freely to many of the poorer sort." Winthrop, *History*, II. *263.

tine commanded him to be quiet and surcease his quarelling; but he would not, but reviled his captaine with base language, and in the end halfe drew his rapier, and intended to rune at his captien; but he closed with him, and wrasted his rapier from him, and gave him a boxe on the earr; but he would not give over, but still assaulted his captaine. Wherupon he tooke the same rapier as it was in the scaberd, and gave him a blow with the hilts; but it light on his head, and the smal end of the bar of the rapier hilts peirct his scull, and he dyed a few days after. But the captaine was cleared by a counsell of warr.[1] This fellow was so desperate a quareller as the captaine was faine many times to chaine him under hatches from hurting his fellows, as the company did testifie; and this was his end.

This captaine Thomas Cormuell sett forth another vioage to the Westindeas, from the Bay of the Massachusets, well maned and victuled; and was out ·3· years, and tooke sundry prises, and returned rich unto the Massachusets, and ther dyed the same somere, having gott a fall from his horse, in which fall he fell on his rapeir hilts, and so brused his body as he shortly after dyed therof,

[1] Winthrop relates the incident, and gives the name of the sailor — Voysye. He died the day after his hurt. "It was then the general court at Plimouth, and a jury being empannelled, they found that he died of the wound received from the captain, whereupon the captain was sent for on shore. He offered to put himself upon trial, so as he might not be imprisoned, and that he might be tried by a council of war, both which were granted him, and one of Plimouth, one of their chief men, but no magistrate, undertook for him, body for body, and some of the magistrates and other military officers were chosen a council of war, who, upon the evidence, and sight of his commission by which he had power of martial law, etc. acquitted him. The trained band accompanied the body to the grave, and the captain gave every one of them an eln of black taffeta for a mourning robe." *History*, II. *264. It is not stated whether it was a special council of war or that belonging to the plantation, of which a new appointment was made on June 2, of this year. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, II. 100. Cromwell went to Boston June 10. The difference in the time of his stay at New Plymouth as stated by Bradford and Winthrop is not explained. From Aspinwall's *Notarial Records* (p. 22) it appears that Samuel Harvey, a mariner under Cromwell, made Nathaniel Souther, of New Plymouth, attorney to collect a debt owing by Andrew Hallet of Yarmouth. Another of Cromwell's men was Nicholas Batson.

with some other distempers, which brought him into a feavor. Some observed that ther might be somthing of the hand of God herein; that as the forenamed man dyed of the blow he gave him with the rapeir hilts, so his owne death was occationed by a like means.

This year Mr. Edward Winslow went into England, upon this occation: some discontented persons under the govermente of the Massachusets sought to trouble their peace, and disturbe, if not innovate, their govermente, by laying many [270] scandals upon them; and intended to prosecute against them in England, by petitioning and complaining to the Parlemente. Allso Samuell Gorton and his company made complaints against them;[1] so

[1] The question of Samuel Gorton came before the Commissioners for the colonies and Plymouth was indirectly involved. The full account belongs to the Winthrop *History*. He came to Boston in 1636 from Gorton, in Lancashire, and two years later was a resident of Plymouth, "yeoman," with his wife, who "had bin as tenderly brought up as was any man's wife" in Plymouth. Morton says that, upon his first coming to Plymouth he "gave some hopes that he would have proved an useful Instrument, but soon after, by little and little, discovered himself to be a proud and pestilent Seducer, and deeply leavened with blasphemous and *Familistical opinions:* and observing such Fictions to be spread by some of his Spirit already in the Country, he takes his opportunity to begin to sowe such seed at *Plimouth*, whereby some were seduced, in special one *John Weeks* and his wife, who in some short time became very Atheists, looking for no more happiness then this world affords, not onely in practice such, but also in opinion. But the said *Gorton* falling into some Controversie with one Mr. *Ralph Smith*, was summoned to the Court held at *Plimouth* the fourth of December, 1638, to Answer the said Mr. *Smiths* Complaint; and there he carried so mutinously and seditiously, as that he was for the same, and for his turbulent carriages towards both Magistrates and Ministers in the presence of the Court, Sentenced to finde Sureties for his good Behaviour, during the time he should stay in the Jurisdiction, which was limited to fourteen dayes, and also Amerced to pay a considerable Fine." *New Englands Memoriall*, *108. Gorton's fine was twenty pounds, and being unable to find sureties for his good behavior in the two weeks given him, he was committed to ward, and at the expiration of the allotted time doubtless departed from the unfriendly jurisdiction. Winslow says that difference in religion was not the real ground for his banishment, and the Court Records, while mentioning "his misdemeanours in the open Court towards the Elders, the Bench, and stirring up the people to mutynie in the face of the Court," also speak of the offence which

as they made choyse of Mr. Winslow to be their agente, to make their defence, and gave him comission and instructions for that end; in which he so carried him selfe as did well answer their ends,

probably brought him before the magistrates, that of sheltering or abetting a widow named Alderedge. Gorton and Winslow have given the leading facts of the incident which terminated his residence in Plymouth. Winslow says:

"The first complaint that came against him for which hee was brought before authority, was by Mr. *Ralph Smith* a Minister, who being of *Gortons* acquaintance received him with his family into his house with much humanity and Christian respect, promising him as free use of it as himselfe, &c. but Mr. *Gorton* becomming troublesome, (after meanes used to remove the offences taken by Mr. *Smith*, but to no purpose, growing still more insolent) Mr. *Smith* desired him to provide elsewhere for himselfe: but *Gorton* refused, saying, hee had as good interest in the house as Mr. Smith had. And when hee was brought before Authority, stood stoutly to maintaine it to our amasement. But was ordered to depart and provide other wayes by a time appointed. And not long after there comming a woman of his acquaintance to *Plimouth*, divers came to the Governour [Prence] with complaints against her, being a stranger, so [for] unworthy and offensive speeches and carriages used by her. Whereupon the Governour sent to her to know her businesse, &c. and commanded her departure, and ordered the Seaman that brought her, to returne her to the place from whence shee came, at his next passage thither. But *Gorton* said shee should not goe, for he had occasion to employ her, &c. Hereupon the Governour (it being in the time of a Court) sent for him, and because hee had hidde her, stood in justification of his practise and refused to obey the command of the Court (who seconded the Governours order). He was committed till hee could procure sureties for his good behaviour till the next Court which was a generall Court, and there to answer to this contempt. The time being come and the Court set, *Gorton* was called; But the Governour being wearied with speech to other causes, requested one of his Assistants who was present at his commitment and privy to the whole cause to declare the same. This Assistant no sooner stood up to shew the Country the cause of his bonds in the great affront hee had given the Government, but *Gorton* stretching out his hand towards his face said with a loud voice, *If Satan will accuse the brethren, let him come down from Jehoshuahs right hand and stand here*, And that done, in a seditious manner turned himselfe to the people and said, with his armes spread abroad; *Yee see good people how yee are abused! Stand for your liberty; And let them not bee parties and judges*, with many other opprobrious speeches of that kinde. Hereupon divers Elders of Churches being present, desiring leave of the Governour to speake, complaining of his seditious carriage, and requested the Court not to suffer these abuses, but to inflict condigne punishment. And yet notwithstanding all wee did to him was but to take the forfeiture of his aforesaid bonds for his good behaviour. Nay being but low and poore in his estate, wee tooke not above eight or

Honoured Sir

May it please you to take notice, that of late we have received order, from his maiesties Comissioners (for these parts) to prepare the business of the Nanhyganset Gathring, in order to a hearing before them, & that very shortly: Their honour informing us, that it is his maiesties will & pleasure, that the said Gathring & their men, are to be protected from all violence & injury, with respect to all Indians, & English in the country, And it being rumoured that there are some Indians, in readiness to come out against them from beyond, or in, or about, yo.r parts, I doe desire therfore, that your selfe will be very carefull that none be permitted, to come through, or out, of yo.r territories: for any such purpose, or under any pretence whatsoever, till his maiesties royall pleasure be further made knowne, by his most honourable Comissioners, & so rest take leave & remaine, Sir yo.r humble servant,

Samuell Gorton

Warwick in the Nanhyganset bay, March 2.d 1664/5

and cleared them from any blame or dishonour, to the shame of their adversaries. But by reason of the great alterations in the State, he was detained longer then was expected; and afterwards

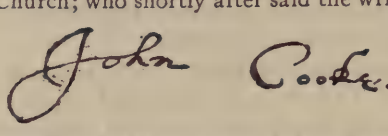
ten pounds of it, lest it might lie too heavy upon his wife and children. But he must either get new sureties for the [his] behaviour till the next generall Court, or such time as hee departed the Government, or lie in prison till hee could: now hee knowing his outragious passions which hee could not restraine, procured sureties, but immediately left *Plimouth* and went to *Roade Island*." *Hypocrisie Vnmasked*, *67.

In 1669 Gorton took exception to the statements made by Morton and in a lengthy letter characteristically gave his own rendering of the facts. "If you had recorded truly you should haue made report of Plimouths dealing with me had bin their threatening of a widow one Ellin Aldridge whom they said they would send out of the Collony as a vacabond by some of your inferiour officers, when as nothing was laid to her charge, only it was whispered priuatly that she had smiled in your congregation, whervpon it may be the Church grew iealous that she did not well like your Doctrine and graue pollished Church order, And she hauing bin a woman of good report in England and newly come ouer, being carefull of her credit she fled into the woods to escape the shame which was threatened to be put upon her, there remaining seuerall dayes and nights, at the least part of the nights and absented her selfe againe before people stirred in the morning; my speaking on her behalfe (she being then my wiues servant) was the ocation that Plimouths government tooke to deale with me, whervpon they called me to a Court more priuatly held to examine me, and one of them inlarging vpon a point agravating the matter more then it deserued, I said he spake hyperbollically whervpon they asked your Elder [Brewster] then present, what was the meaning of that word, and he was pleased to expound it that I told the magistrate that he lyed; and this was the dealing with me, and accordingly they gaue their owne constructions of what I spake afterwards, only in your Court more publique the foreman of your jury (your Elders son Jonathan Brewster) befriended me so much as to moue the Court that I should not speake in my owne behalfe at all, and there was no Atourney to be had in those dayes that I knew of. . . .

"In the time of these agitations Mr. Smith tooke offence at me whether of himselfe or instigated I know not, neither know I any ocation I gaue him, vnlesse it was because his ancient wife and others of his family frequented mine vsually morning and euening in the time of family exercises, and so did a religious maid liuing then with your teacher Mr. Reyner, mistress Smith often expressing her selfe how glad she was that she could come into a family where her spirit was refreshed in the ordinances of god as in former dayes which she said was much decayed and allmost worne out of religion since she came to Plimouth; In this offence taken by Mr. Smith he applied himselfe to the gouernment of Plimouth for help to breake his couenant made with my selfe, I hauing hired one part of his house for the terme of foure whole yeares, whervpon

fell into other imployments their, so as he hath now bene absente this ·4· years, which hath been much to the weakning of this governmente, without whose consente he tooke these imployments upon him.[1]

I was perswaded to put the matter to arbitterment the men were apointed, my writings deliuered, as I Remember, John Cooke was one an eminent member of your Church; who shortly after said the writings were comanded out of their hands by the Gouernour, insomuch that they could doe nothing to issue the matter, neither could I procure my writings againe vnto this day, least the iustice of my cause should apeare to any, but the Court proceeded to fine and banishment, together with sentence giuen that my family should depart out of my owne hired house, (Acts 28:30) within the space of fourteene dayes vpon the penalty of another great summe of money (besides my fine paid) and their further wrath and displeasure, which time to depart fell to be in a mighty storme of snow, as I haue seene in the country, my wife being turned out of doore in the said storme with a young child sucking at her breast (the infant hauing at that very time the disease called the measles breaking out vpon it, which the cold forced in againe causing sicknesse neere vnto death) who had bin as tenderly brought vp as any man's wife then in that towne, And my selfe to trauell in the wildernesse I knew not whither, the people comforting my wife and children when I was gone with this, that it was impossible for me to come aliue to any plantation. . . . I haue bin silent of things done at Plimouth, Rhode Island and elsewhere, and am still in many respects, but haue not forgotten them, for then I should forget the Sumptoms of the crosse of Jesus Christ, and I haue heard that some of Plimouth then in place were instigators of the Island [Rhode Island], I could name the parties of both places, being mett together at Cohannet; I carried my selfe obeidiently to the Gouernment of Plimouth, so fare as it became me at the least, to the great wrong of my family more then is abouesaid as can be made to apeare if need require; For I vnderstood that they had Comission wherin authoritie was deriued, which authoritie I reuerenced." *Letter to Nathaniel Morton*, June 30, 1669. In Force, *Tracts*, IV.



[1] Winslow had sailed from Boston October, 1646, and four years later was on the joint board of "The Committee for Sequestration and Advancement of Money and for compounding with Delinquents." See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Anno ·1647· And Anno ·1648·[1]

[1] The following is a list of the ministers settled at New Plymouth and its dependencies before 1648, with the periods of service so far as known:

New Plymouth: Ralph Smith (1629–); John Reyner (1636–1654); Charles Chauncy (1638–1641).

Scituate: John Lothrop (1635–1639); Charles Chauncy (1641–1654).

Barnstable: John Lothrop (1639–1653).

Sandwich: William Leverich (1639–1653).

Taunton: William Hooke (1639–1644); Nicholas Street (1639–1659).

Yarmouth: Marmaduke Matthews (1639–1643); John Miller (1643–1660).

Marshfield: Richard Blinman (–1641); Edward Bulkley (1642–1658).

Rehoboth: Samuel Newman (1645–1663).

Eastham: John Mayo (1646–1655).

Yours in x^t to be comanded
Marmaduke Matthews

yo^r much-engaged
Richard Blinman.

Yo^r vnfained frend
Samuel Newman^e

Passengers of the Mayflower

The names of those which came over first, in the year ·1620· and were by the blessing of God the first beginers and (in a sort) the foundation of all the Plantations and Colonies in New England; and their families.

Passengers of the Mayflower

MR. JOHN CARVER; Kathrine, his wife; Desire Minter; and ·2· man-servants, John Howland, Roger Wilder; William Latham, a boy; and a ·8· maid servant, and a child that was put to him, called Jasper More.

Mr. William Brewster; Mary, his wife; with ·2· sons, ·6· whose names were Love and Wrasling; and a boy was put to him called Richard More; and another of his brothers. The rest of his children were left behind, and came over afterwards.

Mr. Edward Winslow; Elizabeth, his wife; and ·2· men ·5· servants, caled Georg Sowle and Elias Story; also a litle girle was put to him, caled Ellen, the sister of Richard More.

William Bradford, and Dorothy, his wife; having but one ·2· child, a sone, left behind, who came afterward.

Mr. Isaack Allerton, and Mary, his wife; with ·3· children, ·6· Bartholomew, Remember, and Mary; and a servant boy, John Hooke.

Mr. Samuell Fuller, and a servant, caled William Butten. ·2· His wife was [left] behind, and a child, which came afterwards.

·2· John Crakston, and his sone, John Crakston.

·2· Captin Myles Standish, and Rose, his wife.

Mr. Christopher Martin, and his wife, and ·2· servants, ·4· Salamon Prower [1] and John Langemore.

Mr. William Mullines, and his wife, and ·2· children, ·5· Joseph and Priscila; and a servant, Robart Carter.

Mr. William White, and Susana, his wife, and one sone, caled Resolved, and one borne a ship-bord, caled Peregriene; ·6· and ·2· servants, named William Holbeck and Edward Thomson.

[1] Of Billerica. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XXI. 77.

·8· Mr. Steven Hopkins, and Elizabeth, his wife, and ·2· children, caled Giles, and Constanta, a doughter, both by a former wife; and ·2· more by this wife, caled Damaris and Oceanus; the last was borne at sea; and ·2· servants, called Edward Doty and Edward Litster.

·1· Mr. Richard Warren; but his wife and children were lefte behind, and came afterwards.

·4· John Billinton, and Elen, his wife; and ·2· sones, John and Francis.

·4· Edward Tillie, and Ann, his wife; and ·2· childeren that were their cossens, Henery Samson and Humillity Coper.

·3· John Tillie, and his wife; and Eelizabeth, their doughter.

·2· Francis Cooke, and his sone John. But his wife and other children came afterwards.

·2· Thomas Rogers, and Joseph, his sone. His other children came afterwards.

·2[3·] Thomas Tinker, and his wife, and a sone.

·2· John Rigdale, and Alice, his wife.

·3· James Chilton, and his wife, and Mary, their dougter. They had an other doughter, that was maried, came afterward.

·3· Edward Fuller, and his wife, and Samuell, their sonne.

·3· John Turner, and ·2· sones. He had a doughter came some years after to Salem, wher she is now living.

·3· Francis Eaton, and Sarah, his wife, and Samuell, their sone, a yong child.

·10· Moyses Fletcher, John Goodman, Thomas Williams, Digerie Preist, Edmond Margeson, Peter Browne, Richard Britterige, Richard Clarke, Richard Gardenar, Gilbart Winslow.

·1· John Alden was hired for a cooper, at South-Hampton, wher the ship victuled; and being a hopefull yong man, was much desired, but left to his owne liking to go or stay when he came here; but he stayed, and maryed here.

John Allerton and Thomas Enlish were both hired, the later to goe m[aste]r of a shalop here, and the other was re-
·2· puted as one of the company, but was to go back (being a seaman) for the help of others behind. But they both dyed here, before the shipe returned.

There were allso other ·2· seamen hired to stay a year
·2· here in the country, William Trevore, and one Ely. But when their time was out, they both returned.

These, bening aboute a hundred sowls, came over in this first ship; and began this worke, which God of his goodnes hath hithertoo blesed; let his holy name have the praise.

And seeing it hath pleased him to give me to see ·30· years compleated since these beginings; and that the great works of his providence are to be observed, I have thought it notunworthy my paines to take a view of the decreasings and increasings of these persons, and such changes as hath pased over them and theirs, in this thirty years. It may be of some use to such as come after; but, however, I shall rest in my owne benefite.[1]

I will therfore take them in order as they lye.

Mr. Caruer and his wife dyed the first year; he in the spring, she in the sommer;[2] also, his man Roger [Wilder], and the litle boy Jasper [More] dyed before either of them, of the commone infection. Desire Minter returned to her freinds, and proved not very well, and dyed in England. His servant boy Latham, after more then ·20· years stay in the country, went into England, and from thence to the Bahamy Ilands in the West Indies, and ther, with some others, was starved

[1] In the following notes an attempt has been made to give the names of those referred to in Bradford's "View," which would include the passengers of the *Mayflower* and their increase to the year 1650. A perfect list cannot be compiled, nor is the material available sufficient to give a full genealogical record.

[2] See vol. I. p. 216.

for want of food. His maid servant maried, and dyed a year or tow after, here in this place. His servant, John Howland,[1] maried the doughter of John Tillie, Elizabeth, and they are both now living, and have ·10· children, now all living;[2] and ·15· their eldest daughter hath ·4· children.[3] And ther ·2· daughter, one, all living;[4] and other of their children mariagable. So ·15· are come of them.

Mr. Brewster lived to very old age; about ·80· years he was when he dyed, having lived some ·23· or ·24· years here in the countrie; and though his wife dyed long before, yet she dyed aged.[5] His sone Wrastle dyed a yonge man unmaried;

[1] He died February 23, 1672–73, and his will and inventory are in *Mayflower Descendant*, II. 70. His widow died December 21, 1687, aged 80, and her will is in *Ib.* III. 54.

[2] These children were: DESIRE, married, 1643, John Gorham, and died late in 1683. The inventory of her estate is in *Mayflower Descendant*, IV. 217. JOHN, born 1626, married October 26, 1651, Mary, daughter of Robert Lee. JABEZ, married Bethiah ——, and died about 1712. Inventory in *Ib.* VII. 199. HOPE, born 1629, married John Chipman, and died January 8, 1683–84. JOSEPH, married, 1664, Elizabeth Southworth, and died January, 1703–04. Will and inventory in *Ib.* VI. 86. ISAAC, married Elizabeth, daughter of George Vaughan, and died March 9, 1723–24. Will in *Ib.* VI. 147. ELIZABETH, married July 10, 1651, John Dickinson. LYDIA, married James Brown. Will and inventory in *Ib.* VII. 163. RUTH, married, 1664, Thomas Cushman, and died in following year. HANNAH, married —— Bosworth.

[3] Desire Howland, married, 1643, John Gorham, and had DESIRE, born April 2, 1644; married John Hawes; TEMPERANCE, born May 5, 1646; ELIZABETH, born April 2, 1648; JAMES, born April, 1650, and others. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, II. 281; Davis, *Landmarks*, 121.

[4] Hope Howland married John Chipman, and had ELIZABETH, born June 24, 1647, and others. Savage and Davis.

[5] On Brewster's death, see p. 342 *supra*. His wife, Mary, died at New Plymouth, April 17, 1627. Their children were JONATHAN (1593–1679), married April 10, 1624. Lucretia Oldham, of Darby, supposed to be a sister of John Oldham. PATIENCE (–1634), married, in 1624, Thomas Prence (1600–1673). FEAR (–1634), married Isaac Allerton, *q. v.* ——,[1] died at Leyden, June 20, 1609. LOVE (–1650), married in 1634 Sarah, daughter of William Collier of Duxbury. After his death she married Richard Parke or Parks. WRESTLING.

[1] Name is unknown.

·4· his sone Love lived till this year ·1650· and dyed, and left ·4· children, now living.[1] His doughters which came over after him are dead, but have left sundry children alive;[2] his eldest sone is still liveing, and hath ·9·[3] or ·10· children; one ·2· maried, who hath a child or ·2·[4]

Richard More his brother[5] dyed the first winter; but he is ·4· maried, and hath ·4· or ·5· children, all living.[6]

Mr. Ed: Winslow his wife dyed the first winter;[7] and he ·2· maried with the widow of Mr. White, and hath ·2· children living by her marigable, besides sundry that are dead.[8]

[1] The children of Love Brewster were: SARAH, married Benjamin Bartlett. NATHANIEL, married Sarah ——. WILLIAM (1645?–1723), married, in 1673, Lydia, daughter of George and Sarah Partridge. WRESTLING (–1697), married Mary ——. His will and inventory are in *Mayflower Descendant*, II. 203.

[2] Fear left one son, ISAAC ALLERTON, and Patience left five, the names, according to Savage were, THOMAS, REBECCA, HANNAH, MERCY and SARAH.

[3] The children of Jonathan Brewster were: WILLIAM, born 1626, married Mary Peime (?) of London, and may have removed to England. MARY, born 1627, married November, 1645, John Turner of Scituate. JONATHAN, born 1629. RUTH (1631–1677) married, in 1651, John Pickett of New London. BENJAMIN (1633–1710), married, in 1660, Ann Darte. ELIZABETH, born 1637, married, in 1653, Peter Bradley of New London. GRACE (1639–1684), married, in 1659, Daniel Wetherell of New London (1630–1719). HANNAH, born in 1641, married Samuel Starr of New London.

[4] John Turner had four children born before 1651: JONATHAN (1646), JOSEPH (1647), JOSEPH (1648) and EZEKIEL (1650). Deane, *Scituate*, 360.

[5] Even the surname of this brother is unknown. Richard Moore may be the person whose deposition is printed in *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, L. 203: "The Deposition of Richard Moore Senr, aged seaventy yeares or thereabouts. Sworn saith that being in London att the House of Mr. Thomas Weston Iron monger in the year 1620. He was from thence transported to New Plymouth in New England." This, if the date is correctly given, would make him about seven years of age when he came to New Plymouth.

[6] The name of his first wife was Christian Hunt, who died in March, 1677, aged 60 years; that of his second, Jane, daughter of Richard Hollingsworth. He had a son CALEB, and a daughter, SUSANNA, who married Samuel Dutch. *Mayflower Descendant*, III. 193.

[7] Elizabeth Barker, to whom he was betrothed in Leyden, April 27, 1618.

[8] He married in 1621 Susanna, widow of William White. Children: ELIZABETH, married Robert Brooks; JOSIAH (1629–1680), married, in 1651, Penelope, daughter of Herbert Pelham.

One of his servants dyed,[1] as also the litle girle,[2] soone ·8· after the ships arivall. But his man, Georg Sowle, is still living, and hath ·8· children.[3]

·4· and he maried againe; and hath ·4· children, ·3· wherof are

William Bradford[4] his wife dyed soone after their arivall;[5] maried.[6]

Mr. Allerton his wife dyed with the first,[7] and his servant, John Hooke. His sone Bartle[8] is maried in England, but I know not how many children he hath. His doughter Remember is maried at Salem, and hath ·3· or ·4· children living.[9]

·8· And his doughter Mary is maried here, and hath ·4· children.[10]

[1] Elias Story.

[2] Ellen Moore, sister of Richard Moore.

[3] George Soule married Mary Becket. His will and inventory are in *Mayflower Descendant*, II. 81. Children: GEORGE, married Deborah ——, and died in 1704. His will is in *Ib.* VII. 211. She died about 1709. ZACHARIAH (1627–1663), married Margaret. The inventory of estate is in *Ib.* V. 110. JOHN (1632–*c.* 1707), married Esther ——. Inventory of estate is in *Ib.* IV. 159. NATHANIEL, married Rose ——, and died before 1699. The settlement of estate is in *Ib.* VII. 72. BENJAMIN. PATIENCE, married John Haskell. ELIZABETH, married Francis Walker. MARY, married John Peterson.

[4] Who died 9 of May, 1655. — An entry on the MS. in another hand.

[5] Dorothy, daughter of Henry May. See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, L. 462.

[6] He married, in 1623, Alice Carpenter, daughter of Alexander Carpenter, and widow of Edward Southworth. By his first wife he had JOHN, married Martha, daughter of Thomas and Martha Bourne, and died in 1678, without issue. By his second wife Governor Bradford had: WILLIAM (1624–1704), married (1) Alice, daughter of Thomas and Welthean Richards, of Weymouth. His will and inventory are in *Mayflower Descendant*, IV. 143. MERCY, born in 1627, and married, in 1648, Benjamin Vermayes, of Boston. JOSEPH (1630–1715), married, in 1664, Jael, daughter of Rev. Peter Hobart of Hingham. Papers on his will are in *Mayflower Descendant*, V. 217.

[7] Mary Norris, of Newbury, Berks., whom he married at Leyden, November 4, 1611.

[8] Bartholomew, born in Holland about 1612.

[9] She married Moses Maverick. Savage gives the names of six children born before 1650: REBECCA, baptized August, 1639; MARY, 1641–1656; ABIGAIL, 1645; ELIZABETH, 1646, and died young; SAMUEL, 1647; and ELIZABETH, 1649.

[10] Mary (1616–1699), married, in 1635–36, Elder Thomas Cushman, whose will is in

Him selfe maried againe with the doughter of Mr. Brewster, and hath one sone living by her, but she is long since dead.[1] And he maried againe,[2] and hath left this place long agoe. So I account his increase to be ·8· besides his sons in England.

Mr. Fuller his servant dyed at sea;[3] and after his wife ·2· came over, he had tow children by her, which are living and growne up to years; but he dyed some ·15· years agoe.[4]

John Crakston dyed in the first mortality;[5] and about some ·5· or ·6· years after, his sone dyed; having lost him selfe in the wodes, his feet became frosen, which put him into a feavor, of which he dyed.

Captain Standish [6] his wife dyed in the first sicknes,[7] and ·4· he maried againe,[8] and hath ·4· sones liveing, and some are dead.

Mr. Martin, he and all his, dyed in the first infection; not long after the arivall.[9]

the *Cushman Genealogy*, 91. The four children were: THOMAS (1637–1726) who married (1) Ruth, daughter of John Howland; SARAH, married John Hawks of Lynn; LYDIA, married William Harlow, Jr.; ISAAC (1648–1732), married Mary Rickard.

[1] Fear Brewster, who died December 1, 1634. The son was ISAAC, born in 1630, and removed to Virginia. His will is in *Mayflower Descendant*, VII. 173.

[2] The name of his third wife was Joanna, who lived until 1682. Isaac Allerton died in 1659. His will and inventory are in *Mayflower Descendant*, II. 155. On Allerton, see *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, VIII. 265; XLIV. 290.

[3] William Butten.

[4] He died in 1633. His wife Bridget Lee was his third wife. Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 615. Their children were: SAMUEL, married Elizabeth ——, and died in 1695. The settlement of the estate is in *Mayflower Descendant*, V. 65. MERCY, married, 1650, Ralph James.

[5] He came to Leyden from Colchester, with daughter Anna, who married Thomas Smith. Dexter, 610.

[6] Who dyed ·3· of Octob. 1655. — An entry on the MS. in another hand.

[7] Her name was Rose.

[8] Barbara. Their children were: ALEXANDER, married Sarah, daughter of John Alden; MYLES, married Sarah, daughter of John Winslow; JOSIAH, married, in 1654, Mary, daughter of John Dingley; CHARLES; LORAH; and JOHN.

[9] He came from Billerica in Essex.

Mr. Molines, and his wife,[1] his sone,[2] and his servant,[3] dyed the first winter. Only his dougter Priscila survied, ·15· and maried with John Alden, who are both living, and have ·11· children. And their eldest daughter is maried, and hath five children. See N. E. Memorial, p. 22.[4]

Mr. White and his ·2· servants dyed soone after ther landing.[5] His wife maried with Mr. Winslow (as is before ·7· noted). His ·2· sons are maried, and Resolved hath ·5· children,[6] Peregrine tow, all living.[7] So their increase are ·7·

Mr. Hopkins and his wife are now both dead, but they lived above ·20· years in this place,[8] and had one sone and ·5· ·4· doughters borne here.[9] Ther sone became a seaman, and dyed at Barbadoes; one daughter dyed here,[10] and ·2· are maried;[11] one of them hath ·2· children; and one is yet to mary.[12] So their increase which still survive are ·5· But ·4· his sone Giles is maried, and hath ·4· children.[13]

[1] Alice ——, probably his second or third wife. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XLVI. 269; XLVII. 90; LI. 428.

[2] Joseph Mullins.

[3] Robert Carter.

[4] The reference to Morton is in another hand. See under Alden, p. 411, *infra*.

[5] William White, William Holbeck and Edward Thomson.

[6] He married, in 1640, Judith, daughter of William Vassall, of Scituate. Children, WILLIAM, born 1642; JOHN, 1644; SAMUEL, 1646; RESOLVED, 1647; ANN 1649; and others.

[7] Peregrine (1620–1704), married, in 1648, Sarah, daughter of William Bassett. They had five children, DANIEL, Jonathan, Peregrine, Sarah and Mercy. His will, with facsimile, is in *Mayflower Descendant*, I. 129, and the inventory in *Ib.* III. 119.

[8] The wife's name was Elizabeth, probably a second wife, as GILES and CONSTANCE were by a former marriage. Another son by the first marriage, CALEB, died before 1651.

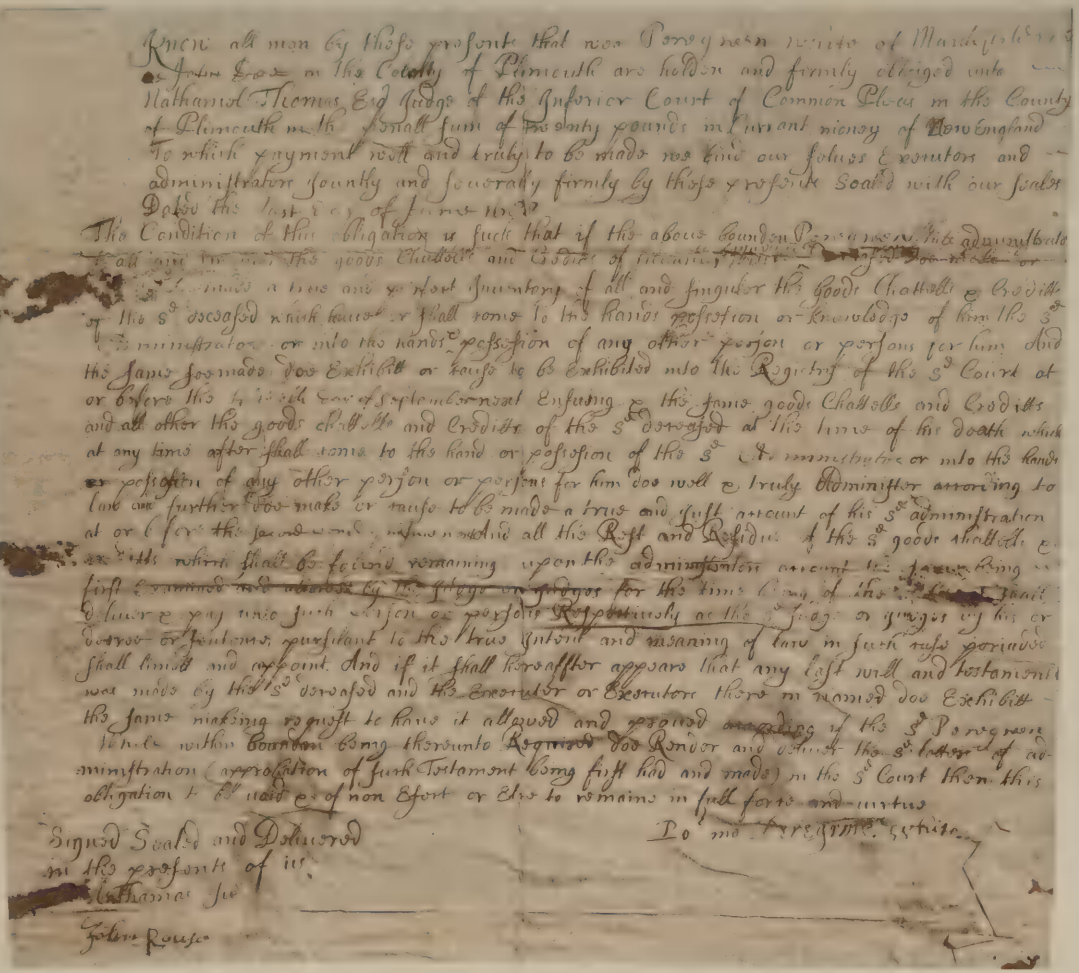
[9] OCEANUS, born on the voyage to New England, DEBORAH, DAMARIS, RUTH and ELIZABETH.

[10] Probably Ruth.

[11] Deborah married Andrew Ring, and Damaris, Jacob Cooke.

[12] Elizabeth is said to have died unmarried. See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, IV. 281; *Mayflower Descendant*, IV. 114. The will of Stephen Hopkins is in *Mayflower Descendant*, II. 12.

[13] He married, in 1639, Catharine Wheldon, and died about 1690. His will is in



PEREGRINE WHITE, 1688

His doughter Constanta is also maried, and hath ·12· ·12· children, all of them living, and one of them maried.[1]

Mr. Richard Warren lived some ·4· or ·5· years, and had his wife come over to him, by whom he had ·2· sons before ·4· [he] dyed; and one of them is maryed, and hath ·2· children.[2] So his increase is ·4· But he had ·5· doughters more came over with his wife, who are all maried, and living, and have many children.[3]

John Billinton, after he had bene here ·10· yers, was executed for killing a man;[4] and his eldest sone dyed before ·8· him; but his ·2· sone is alive, and maried, and hath ·8· children.[5]

Edward Tillie and his wife[6] both dyed soon after their

Mayflower Descendant, I. 110. Children: MARY, born 1640; STEPHEN, 1642; JOHN, 1643, died the same year; ABIGAIL, 1644; DEBORAH, 1648; and others.

[1] She married, before 1627, Nicholas Snow, and died, October, 1677. Children: MARK, MARY, SARAH, JOSEPH, STEPHEN, JOHN, ELIZABETH, JABEZ, RUTH, HANNAH, REBECCA. His will is in *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XLVII. 83.

[2] Probably NATHANIEL, who married, in 1645, Sarah Walker, and had child, Richard. The second son, JOSEPH, married, about 1651, Priscilla, daughter of John Faunce. He died in 1689, and his will and inventory are in *Mayflower Descendant*, IV. 14.

[3] 1. MARY, married, in 1628, Robert Bartlett. Children: BENJAMIN, JOSEPH, REBECCA, MARY, SARAH, ELIZABETH, LYDIA and MARY — all born before 1651. 2. ANN, married, in 1633, Thomas Little. Child, ISAAC, born in 1646, and others. 3. SARAH, married, in 1634, John Cooke. Children : SARAH, ELIZABETH, ESTHER, and others. 4. ELIZABETH, married, in 1636, Richard Church. Children: JOSEPH, BENJAMIN, RICHARD, CALEB, NATHANIEL, HANNAH, ABIGAIL, and others. 5. ABIGAIL, married, in 1639, Anthony Snow. Children: JOSIAH, LYDIA, and others. See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, LV. 70.

[4] See vol. II. p. 110. His widow, Eleanor, married, in 1638, Gregory Armstrong.

[5] Francis, who married, in 1634, Christian Penn, the widow of Francis Eaton. By her he had: MARTHA, married Samuel Eaton; ELIZABETH, married —— Patte; REBECCA; MARY, married Samuel Sabin (Savage says, John Martin); ISAAC, married Hannah Glass; MERCY, married John Martin; DESIRE; JOSEPH, and Francis.

[6] Ann.

arivall; and the girle Humility,[1] their cousen, was sent for ·7· into England, and dyed ther. But the youth Henery Samson is still liveing, and is maried, and hath ·7· children.[2]

John Tillie and his wife [3] both dyed a litle after they came ashore; and their daughter Elizabeth maried with John Howland, and hath isue as is before noted.

Francis Cooke is still living, a very olde man,[4] and hath seene his childrens children have childen; after his wife ·8· came over,[5] (with other of his children,) he hath ·3· still living by her, all maried, and have ·5· children; so their encrease is ·8· And his sone John, which came over with ·4· him, is maried, and hath ·4· chilldren living.[6]

Thomas Rogers dyed in the first sicknes, but his sone Joseph is still living, and is maried, and hath ·6· children.[7]

[1] Humility Cooper. She was related to the Cloptons, one of whom was cousin to Governor John Winthrop. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, L. 465.

[2] He married, in 1636, Ann Plumer and died in 1684. His will and inventory are in *Mayflower Descendant*, II. 142. Children: ELIZABETH, married Robert Sprout; HANNAH, married Josiah Holmes; JOHN; MARY, married John Summers; ——, married John Hanmore; DORCAS, married Thomas Bonney; James, married Hannah ——, dying about 1717; Stephen, married Elizabeth ——; and Caleb, married Mercy, daughter of Alexander Standish. See Veriton, *Giles Memorial*, 374.

[3] His wife's name is given as Bridget Van de Velde, in *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, L. 34.

[4] He died in 1663. — An entry on the MS. in another hand.

[5] Esther, who came in the *Anne*.

[6] JACOB (1618–1676), married, in 1646, Damaris, daughter of Stephen Hopkins, and had a child, ELIZABETH, born in 1648, and others after 1650. Elizabeth married John Dotey. JANE, married, about 1628, Experience Mitchell, and died without issue. ESTHER, married, in 1644, Richard Wright, and had: ADAM, married Sarah Soule; Esther, Mary, John and Isaac. MARY (1626–1715), married, in 1645, John Thomson. John married, in 1634, Sarah, daughter of Richard Warren, and died in 1695. Children: SARAH, married, in 1652, Arthur Hathaway; ELIZABETH, married, in 1661, Daniel Wilcox; ESTHER (1650–1671), married, in 1667, Thomas Taber; and others born after 1650. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, LV. 73.

[7] Joseph married Hannah ——, and died in 1678. His will and inventory are in *Mayflower Descendant*, III. 67. Their children were: SARAH, born in 1633; JOSEPH (1635–1660), married Susanna Deane; THOMAS (1638–1678), married, 1665, Elizabeth

·6· The rest of Thomas Rogers [children] came over, and are maried, and have many children.[1]

Thomas Tinker, and his wife and sone, all dyed in the first sicknes.

And so did John Rigdale, and his wife.

James Chilton and his wife also dyed in the first infection.

·10· But their daughter Mary is still living, and hath ·9· children;[2] and one daughter is maried, and hath a child;[3] so their increase is ·10·

Edward Fuller and his wife[4] dyed soon after they came ·4· ashore; but their sone Samuell is living, and maried, and hath ·4· children or more.[5]

John Turner and his ·2· sones all dyed in the first siknes. But he hath a daugter still living at Salem, well maried, and approved of.

Snow; ELIZABETH, 1639, married Jonathan Higgins; JOHN, 1642; MARY, 1644; JAMES (1648–1678), married, 1670, Mary Paine; and others. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XLVIII. 71.

[1] These children have not been identified. A John Rogers is believed to have been one of the sons.

[2] James Chilton probably came from Canterbury, where is a record of the baptism of daughter, Isabell, January 15, 1586–87. She is supposed to be the "Isabella Tgrilton" of the Leyden records, who married, July 22, 1615, Roger Chandler from Colchester. The second child MARY married, about 1627, John Winslow (1597–1674). Their children were: JOHN, married (1) Elizabeth —— and (2) Judith ——, and died in 1683; SUSANNAH, married, about 1649, Robert Latham; MARY (1630–1663), married, in 1651, Edward Gray; SARAH, married, in 1660, (1) Myles Standish, Jr., and died in 1726; EDWARD (1634–1682), married (1) Sarah Hilton; JOSEPH, married Sarah ——, and died in 1679; SAMUEL (1641–1680), married Hannah Briggs; ISAAC (1644–1670), married, in 1666, Mary Nowell; and Benjamin (1653–1676). The will of Mary Chilton is in the files of Suffolk County Register of Probate, and is reproduced in *Mayflower Descendant*, I. 65.

[3] Susannah Latham and her daughter MERCY, born June 2, 1650.

[4] Ann ——.

[5] He married, April, 1635, Jane, daughter of John Lothrop, and died October 31, 1683. His will and inventory are in *Mayflower Descendant*, II. 237. Their children were: HANNAH, married, 1659, Nicholas Bonham; SAMUEL, born 1638, married Anna Fuller; SARAH, born 1641, and died young; MARY, born 1644, married Joseph Williams; and others.

Francis Eeaton his first wife [1] dyed in the generall sicknes; and he maried againe, and his ·2· wife dyed, and he maried ·4· the ·3· and had by her ·3· children.[2] One of them is maried, and hath a child; the other are living, but one of them is an ideote. He dyed about ·16· years agoe.

·1· His sone Samuell, who came over a sucking child, is allso maried, and hath a child.[3]

Moyses Fletcher, Thomas Williams, Digerie Preist, John Goodman, Edmond Margeson, Richard Britterige, Richard Clarke. All these dyed sone after their arivall, in the generall sicknes that befell. But Digerie Preist had his wife and children sent hither afterwards, she being Mr. Allertons sister.[4] But the rest left no posteritie here.

Richard Gardinar became a seaman, and died in England, or at sea.

Gilbert Winslow, after diverse years aboad here, returned into England, and dyed ther.

Peter Browne maried twise. By his first wife [5] he had ·6· ·2· children, who are living, and both of them maried, and the one of them hath ·2· children;[6] by his second wife he had ·2· more.[7] He dyed about ·16· years since.

[1] Her name was Sarah

[5] The name of the second wife is not known; that of the third was Christian Penn. By his first wife he had SAMUEL, married, before 1647, Elizabeth ——, and, in 1661, Martha Billington. His inventory is in *Mayflower Descendant*, II. 172; RACHEL, married, in 1646, Daniel Ramsden, and had a son, DANIEL, born September, 1649. And by his third wife BENJAMIN, born about 1627, and married, in 1660, Sarah Hoskins.

[3] Not identified.

[4] Two daughters, MARY, married Phinehas Pratt; and SARAH, married John Coombs, are named.

[5] Martha, supposed to be widow of —— Ford. The inventory of Browne's estate is in the *Mayflower Descendant*, I. 79; V. 29.

[6] Two daughters of Peter Browne by his first wife were MARY and PRISCILLA. Mary married, before 1647, Ephraim Tinkham, and of her children EPHRAIM alone was born before 1651. Priscilla married, in 1650, William Allen.

[7] The name of his second wife was Mary, and a son PETER is given.

Thomas English and John Allerton dyed in the generall siknes.

John Alden maried with Priscila, Mr. Mollines his doughter, and had issue by her as is before related.[1]

Edward Doty and Edward Litster, the servants of Mr. Hopkins. Litster, after he was at liberty, went to Virginia, and ther dyed. But Edward Doty by a second wife hath ·7· children, and both he and they are living.[2]

Of these ·100· persons which came first over in this first ship together, the greater halfe dyed in the generall mortality; and most of them in ·2· or three monthes time. And for those which survi[v]ed, though some were ancient and past procreation, and others left the place and cuntrie, yet of those few remaining are sprunge up above ·160· persons, in this ·30· years, and are now living in this presente year, ·1650· besides many of their children which are dead, and come not within this account.

And of the old stock (of one and other) ther are yet living this present year, ·1650· nere ·30· persons. Let the Lord have the praise, who is the High Preserver of men.

[1] The children were: 1. ELIZABETH (1622–23–1717), married, 1644, William Pabodie (1620–1707). They had five children before 1651: John, Elizabeth, Mary, Mercy and Martha. 2. JOHN (1625–26–1702), married Elizabeth ——. 3. JOSEPH (1627–1697), married Mary Symonson. His will is in *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, LII. 362. 4. SARAH (*c.* 1629–1687), married Alexander Standish. 5. JONATHAN (1632–33–1697–98), married, 1672, Abigail Hallett. 6. RUTH (*c.* 1636–1674), married John Bass. 7. ZACHARIAH, married Mary ——. 8. MARY (*c.* 1643–), married Thomas Delano. 9. DAVID (1646–1719), married Mary Southworth. See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, LII. and LV.

[2] Edward Dotey married, in 1635, as is supposed for his second wife, FAITH, daughter of Tristram Clark. He died in August, 1655, and the will and inventory are in *Mayflower Descendant*, III. 87. Their children were: EDWARD, married, in 1663, Sarah, daughter of John Faunce, and died, 1690; JOHN, married, about 1667, Elizabeth, daughter of Jacob Cooke, and died 1701; DESIRE, married, in 1677, William Sherman; THOMAS, married Mary ——; SAMUEL; ISAAC, born 1648; Joseph and others. But see Savage, II. 62, and *Mayflower Descendant*, VI. 245.

[1] Twelfe persons liveing of the old stock this present yeare, 1679.

Two persons liveing that came over in the first shipe 1620, this present yeare, 1690. Resolved White and Mary Chusman,[2] the daughter of Mr. Alderton.

And John Cooke, the son of Frances Cooke, that came in the first ship, is still liveing this present yeare, 1694; and Mary Cushman is still liveing, this present yeare, 1698.

[1] The following memoranda are in a later hand.

[2] Obviously, intended for Cushman.

The Bradford Manuscripts

THE manuscript "History of Plimoth Plantation" by Governor William Bradford was certainly in his hands until the year 1651. On his death it passed to his son, Major William Bradford (1624–1704), and from him to his son, Major John Bradford (1653–1736).[1] On one of the blank leaves at the commencement of the volume is found the following note: "This book was rit by Goefner William Bradford and gifen to his son mager William Bradford and by him to his son mager John Bradford. Rit by me Samuel Bradford Mach 20, 1705 [–06]." While the manuscript was with Major William Bradford it was freely used by Nathaniel Morton, when compiling his *New Englands Memoriall*, published in 1669.

On the publication of the *Memoriall* some of the Plymouth Church expressed their opinion that Morton had been "too sparing and short" on the ecclesiastical affairs of the plantation, and he prepared "something more particular" relating to the Church of Plymouth. Soon after its completion this was loaned "to a reverend friend at Boston, where it was burned in the first fire that was so destructive to Boston, in November, 1676." The reverend friend was Increase Mather, whose church, house and library (in part), were lost in the fire. From what Mather writes in his *Relation of the Troubles which have hapned in New England*, printed in 1677, he had seen also the original History, for he says: "I have read a large Manuscript of Governour *Bradfords* (written with his own hand) being expressive of what the *first planters* in this country met with . . . from the year 1620. to the year 1647."[2] Morton's sum-

[1] See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, IV. 39.

[2] *Relation*, To the Reader. Mather had relations with William Bradford, the younger, of whom he obtained materials on Indian affairs.

mary would not answer to such a description, for his second compilation on church history extended only to 1620, with which year Mather says the Bradford manuscript begins.

When Morton learned of the destruction of his compilation he began a second work, "and for that end did once again repair to the study of my much honored uncle, William Bradford, Esquire, deceased, for whose care and faithfulness in such like respects we stand bound . . . whose labors in such respect might fitly have been published to the world, had they not been involved in and amongst particulars of other nature." [1] This second narrative by Morton forms the "Introduction to the Ecclesiastical History of the Church of Christ at Plymouth, in New England," and was prepared in 1679–1680.[2] Morton gave full credit to Governor Bradford — "This was originally penned by Mr. William Bradford, Governor of New Plymouth," — but much was omitted as not suitable to his immediate purpose. As Hazard attributed the authorship to Morton, some confusion resulted. Morton also copied into the church records the Memoir of Elder Brewster, of which he had used parts in his *Memoriall*, and had expressly named Bradford as the author.

Hubbard used the *History* in the preparation of his *General History of New England*, a work completed in 1680, but not published until 1815.[3] Although he makes no direct acknowledgments to Bradford, he includes matter which could have been derived only from the Bradford History.[4] Cotton Mather is also believed to have seen the manuscript while compiling the *Magnalia*, but Dr. Young expresses the opinion that he used the Plymouth Church records.[5]

[1] Young, *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, 5, 6.

[2] Extracts were first printed in Hazard, *Historical Collections* (1792), I. 349, and it appeared in full in Young, 3, but the MS. was used by Rev. John Cotton in 1760. 1 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IV. 107.

[3] 2 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, V. VI.

[4] Young, *Chronicles*, 58, 76, 78, 85; Deane, in *Bradford*, 62. [5] *Chronicles*, 30.

In 1728 Rev. Thomas Prince, seeking material for his *Annals*, learned of the existence of the *History*, then in the keeping of Judge Samuel Sewall. Obtaining the manuscript from Sewall he made the following memorandum on one of the blank leaves:

Tuesday, June 4, 1728.

N. B. Calling at Major John Bradford's at Kingston near Plimouth, son of Major W[illia]m Bradford formerly Dep[uty] Gov[erno]r of Plimouth Colony, who was eldest son of W[illiam] Bradford, Esq. their 2d Gov[erno]r and author of this History; the s[ai]d Major John Bradford gave me *several Manuscript Octavoes* w[hich] He assured me were written with his said Grandfather Gov[ernor] Bradfords own Hand. He also gave me a *little Pencil Book* wrote with a Blew-lead Pencil by his s[ai]d Father the Dep[uty] Gov[erno]r. And He also told me that He had lent and only lent his s[ai]d Grandfather Gov[erno]r Bradford's History of Plimouth Colony wrote by his own Hand also, to Judg Sewall; and desired me to get it of Him or find it out, and take out of it what I think proper for my New England Chronology; w[hich] I accordingly obtained, and This is the s[ai]d History; w[hich] I find wrote in the same Hand-writing as the Octavo Manuscripts above s[ai]d.

THOMAS PRINCE.

I also mentioned to him my Desire of lodging this History in the New England Library of Prints and Manuscripts, w[hich] I had been then collecting for 23 years, to w[hich] He signified his willingness — only that He might have the Perusal of it while he lived.

T. PRINCE.

The manuscript contains another note by Prince, probably of a later date:

But Major Bradford tells me and assures me that He only lent this Book of his Grandfather's to Mr. Sewall, and that it being of his Grandfather's own hand writing He had so high a value for it that He would never Part with the Property, but would lend it to me and desired me to get it, which I did, and write down this that so Major Bradford and His Heirs may be known to be the Right Owners.

The evidence shows that Major Bradford deposited the manuscript with Prince, but did not intend to part with his property

rights therein. None the less Prince's book-plate was inserted beneath the memorandum of June 4, 1728, but without the name of a donor to the New England Library. When the book-plate was attached cannot be determined,[1] but its presence has suggested that the ownership was given to Prince at some time subsequent to 1728. The volume remained in the tower of the Old South Church in the Prince Library, with another manuscript of Bradford — the Letter Book — until the War of Independence. It is probable that Governor Hutchinson used it while writing his history, the first volume of which appeared in 1764 and the second in 1767; and it is possible that in spite of the express injunction of Prince's will the manuscript was allowed to go out of the church building, even to the house of the governor of the Province.[2] In June, 1765, extracts from the History were used in a law suit, and Rev. Joseph Sewall, colleague of Prince, deposed that the notes on the fly leaves of the manuscript were in the writing of Thomas Prince; and Thomas Hutchinson and Benjamin Lynde certified to the correctness of the eighteen pages of extracts.[3]

The Old South Church was utilized by the royalist forces during the siege of Boston, and some of the Prince books were removed by the soldiers at the evacuation of the city in March, 1776. The Bradford Letter Book was among the volumes thus removed, and before 1793 a fragment of it, beginning with page 330, was found in a grocer's shop in Halifax, Nova Scotia, by Mr. James Clarke. In 1793 Mr. Clarke gave this fragment or a transcript of it to the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the letters were printed in the *Collections*.[4] The original manuscript has disappeared. The manuscript of this History was, as is supposed, taken at the same time and carried to England. All trace of it was lost for nearly

[1] *Prince Catalogue*, Introduction, x.

[2] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XIX. 112, 113.

[3] *Suffolk Court Files*, 139,599. This reference is supplied by Mr. John H. Edmonds.

[4] 1 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, III. 27. Mr. Clarke was elected a Corresponding Member in 1795. See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, I. 52.

seventy years, and a tradition arose that it was destroyed in the sacking of Governor Hutchinson's house.

The Bishop of Oxford, Samuel Wilberforce, published in 1844 a *History of the Protestant Church in America*, and in it referred to a "manuscript history of the Plantation of Plymouth" in the archives of Fulham Palace. A second edition appeared in 1846, and an American issue was announced at the same time, but was not made until 1849. In 1848 Rev. James S. M. Anderson, in his *History of the Colonial Church*, quoted the manuscript as Bradford's, thus making it certain that the Bishop of Oxford had used the Bradford, then in the possession of the Bishop of London, and in the Fulham Palace Library. This explicit statement attracted no attention either in England or the United States, and the Bradford History was still believed to be among lost records.

In 1855 the importance of the reference in Wilberforce was recognized by two gentlemen of Boston, and a controversy later arose between them as to the credit for the discovery.[1] One of them, Mr. Barry, took the Wilberforce volume to Mr. Charles Deane and, stating his belief that the Bradford manuscript had been located, suggested that a full copy be obtained. Being then in correspondence with the English antiquarian, Mr. John Hunter, Mr. Deane wrote, February 17, 1855:

> Now I am going to ask a favor of you, if not too much; namely to see what this manuscript [at Fulham Palace] is, and, if what we suppose it to be, either copy or original, to have an exact transcript taken by a copyist, for publication in our Collections. I happen to have the charge of the next volume, and I should like much to secure so rare a gem for publication. If it should not prove to be Bradford's History, but is a History of the early Church, as it appears, it would be desirable to have a copy taken.[2]

[1] The two were John Wingate Thornton and Rev. John S. Barry. The facts of the controversy are given in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XIX. 118. Deane, who examined the matter, makes no mention of either in his Introduction to Bradford.

[2] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, II. 602.

To assist the identification Mr. Deane enclosed an original letter of Bradford to Winthrop. Mr. Hunter saw the manuscript volume and replied, "There is not the slightest doubt that the manuscript is Governor Bradford's own autograph."[1] The absence of any record to show how or when the volume reached Fulham Palace Library gave a wide play to supposition. The presence in that library of two other manuscript volumes, known to have been in the Prince Library,[2] tends to confirm a belief that all had probably been spoils of war. A transcript of the History was made and sent to Mr. Deane, who edited it for the printed *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The original manuscript of the History having been located in a Library in which it would be of secondary interest,[3] it was natural to suggest a return to the United States, where its interest would be far greater. Mr. Robert C. Winthrop made the suggestion to the then Bishop of London, in 1860, through a friend John Sinclair, Archdeacon of Middlesex, and proposed that, with the sanction of the Queen, it could be taken to America by the Prince of Wales, then about to visit the United States, and presented to the people of Massachusetts. The Bishop replied that an act of Parliament would be necessary before property of that description could be alienated. Seven years later, in 1867, some volumes of British State Papers were voluntarily returned to Great Britain by the Philadelphia Library, and in 1869 this act of courtesy was urged as a precedent for the return of the Bradford manuscript. The then American Minister to England, Mr. John Lothrop Motley, pre-

[1] His letters are in the "Editorial Preface" of Deane's *Bradford*.

[2] One was a Dictionary of Authors, and the other a commonplace book of Nathan Prince, brother of Thomas Prince. Both contain the book-plate of the New England Library, filled in by Prince. Mr. Winsor points out that neither volume would be of service to Hutchinson.

[3] "It has been kept at Fulham among the papers of no use to the See. It is not in the catalogue of the library, and probably is not reckoned in any inventory of the property." Rev. Dr. John Waddington, at Southwark, 1858.

sented the proposition, but the reply was the same — that Parliament must give the authority.

The question remained in this situation until 1896, when Hon. George Frisbie Hoar became interested in the *History*, and determined to make every effort to secure its return to Massachusetts. Visiting England he mentioned his desire to some who could be of assistance, and personally examined the manuscript in Fulham Library. On this occasion he told the Bishop of London (Frederick Temple) that the book ought to go back to Massachusetts, and gave his reasons, to which the Bishop assented, but explained that as the volume belonged to him in his official capacity the Archbishop of Canterbury and, indeed, the Queen should be consulted.[1] Upon his return to the United States Senator Hoar prepared a memorial on the subject which resulted in the appointment of a committee in Massachusetts having for its object the return of the Bradford manuscript to this country. The members of this committee were Mr. Charles Francis Adams, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Mr. Charles William Eliot, President of Harvard College, and Bishop William Lawrence, of Massachusetts, acting in connection with the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester and the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth. A memorial was prepared, signed by committees of these societies and of the New England Society of New York, approved by the Governor of Massachusetts, Hon. Roger Wolcott,[2] and sent to the American Ambassador at London, Hon. Thomas Francis Bayard. The Ambassador united with the Bishop of London (Mandell Creighton), with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Frederick Temple), in a petition to the Consistory Court of the Diocese of London. After a full hearing the Chancellor directed that the manuscript be given up to Mr. Bayard, for transmission to the Governor of Massachusetts,

[1] See the address of Senator Hoar in the edition of Bradford's *History* printed by the State of Massachusetts, xlvi-li.

[2] The members of these committees are given in *Ib.* li.

and for final deposit either in the State Archives of Massachusetts, or in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as the Governor should determine. The volume was accordingly brought to the United States and on May 26, 1897, delivered to the Governor of Massachusetts, and by him accepted in behalf of the State.[1] It was deposited with the State Library.[2]

Aside from the History few manuscripts of William Bradford are known. The Winthrop Collection originally contained five letters of Bradford, and four were printed in 5 *Collections*, VI. 156–161. The present location of these letters is: that dated April 11, 1638, is in the Massachusetts Historical Society; that dated June 29, 1640, is in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts; that dated August 16, 1640, is in the Winthrop family; and that without date, but assigned to 1644, is in the Pilgrim Society, Plymouth, Massachusetts. The fifth, dated December 11, 1645, was given by Mr. Robert C. Winthrop to Mr. Charles Deane, and was sold with the Deane Library in April, 1898. The letter is now in the Pequot Library, Southport, Connecticut.[3] The letter, dated February 6, 1631–32, signed by Bradford, Fuller, Alden, Standish and Prence, and now in the Chamberlain Collection, Public Library of the City of Boston, was written by Brad-

[1] The proceedings of the General Court and the addresses made on the occasion are in the edition of Bradford's *History* printed by the State of Massachusetts.

[2] The full decree of the Court, dated April 12, 1897, is in *Ib.* XXI.

The decree stated that the manuscript had been "presumably deposited at Fulham Palace some time between the year 1729 and the year 1785, during which time the said colony [of New Plymouth] was by custom within the Diocese of London for purposes Ecclesiastical, and the Registry of the said Consistorial Court was a legitimate registry for the custody of Registers of Marriages, Births, and Deaths within the said Colony." As the Colony "had ceased to be within the Diocese of London and the Registry of the Court had ceased to be a public registry for the said Colony," the volume could properly and under certain conditions be returned to Massachusetts.

[3] This was the letter sent by Mr. Deane to London to establish the authorship of the *History*. See p. 418, *supra*.

ford. Finally, there is the letter in Bradford's writing, signed also by Allerton, dated September 8, 1623, in Public Records Office, London.[1]

The Massachusetts Historical Society possesses the following Bradford manuscripts: 1. That of the Third Conference or Dialogue (see Vol. I. p. 3); 2. A fragment — eight leaves — of the First Conference; and 3. A Fragment — eleven leaves, with writing on both sides of each leaf — of a poem by Bradford.[2] This last manuscript came to the Society in March, 1858, a gift from Miss Elizabeth Belknap, daughter of Dr. Jeremy Belknap. A full copy of these poems, dated 1657, and in the writing of John Willett (1641–1664?), a son of Thomas Willett, is also in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[1] See *American Historical Review*, VIII. 294.

[2] Printed, with other poems, in 1 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, III. 77.

THE END

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1875

Triangulation by A.D.Bache Superintendent and, Capt. T.J.Cram. U.S.A. Assistant between.....1845 and 1849
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Issued March 1876 C.P.PATTERSON Superintendent.
Verification by J.E.Hilgard Assistant in charge of Office

Gurnet Light and Range Beacon
(two towers 31 feet apart)
Range for clearing Brown's Bank
Latitude of Light.....42° 00' 10"
Longitude of do. (in arc).....70° 36' 03"
do. do. (in time) 4h 42m 24s·2
Height above sea level 102 ft.
Visible 11 Nautical Miles
Fixed White

BUOYS

Red. Buoy to be left in entering on Starboard hand.
Black " " " Port "

TIDES

The plane of reference to which the soundings are given is Mean Low Water

	Plymouth	Duxbury
Corrected Establishment, or Average time of High Water after Moon's meridian passage	11h 8m	12h 35m
Mean Rise and Fall of Tides, or		
Rise of Mean High Water above the plane of reference	9.3ft.	11.4ft.
Rise of High Water, Spring Tides, do. do. Average	10.0 "	
Fall of Low Water do. below do. do.	0.7 "	
Rise of High Water, Neap Tides, above do. do.	8.6 "	
Height of Low Water do. do. do.	0.7 "	
Rise of Highest Tide observed, above do.	11.5 "	12.9 "
Fall of Lowest Tide do. below do.	1.3 "	0.7 "
Mean duration of Rise	5h 55m	5h 45m
Mean duration of Fall	6 30	6 40

SOUNDINGS

The Soundings are expressed in feet, and show the depth at mean low water the plane of reference. The dotted surfaces beyond low water mark represent the bottom within the respective depths of 6, 12, and 18 feet.

The characteristic soundings only are given on the map, they are selected from the numerous soundings taken in the survey, so as to represent the figure of the bottom.

Abbreviations of bottoms

G. for Gravel	*gr. for grey*	*hrd. for hard*
S. " Sand	*yl. " yellow*	*sft. " soft*
P. " Pebbles	*gn. " green*	*brk. " broken*
Sh. " Shells		*fne. " fine*
R. " Rock		*rky " rocky*

Statute Miles

Nautical Miles